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KAUTALYA STUDIES

BY
STEN KONOW

AVHANDLINGER UDGITT AV DET NORSKE VIDENSKABS-AKADEMI I OSLO
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The problems raised by the discovery of the Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra have not yet been finally solved. The work begins with the following statement:

*prthivyaṁ lābhe pālanaṁ ca yāvanty arthaśāstrāṇi pūrvācāryaiḥ
prasthāpitāni prāyaśas tāni saṁhṛtyaikam idam arthaśāstram kṛtam,*
by mainly condensing those arthaśāstras which have been composed
by earlier teachers about winning and guarding the earth this one
arthaśāstra has been made.

And we are not left in doubt about the identity of the author,
for in the final stanza, we read:

*yena śāstram ca śāstram ca Nandarājagatā ca bhūḥ |
amarṣeṇoddhṛtāny āśu tena śāstram idaṁ kṛtam ||*

this treatise has been made by him who in indignation quickly
extracted the treatise and the sword and the earth that had gone to
the Nandaking. And this is in accordance with Indian tradition.¹

If the Arthaśāstra itself is genuine, we can with safety draw the
conclusion that it was actually the work of Kauṭalya, the minister of
the Maurya Candragupta. For he is throughout mentioned as the final
authority. But, curious enough, the frequent expression *iti Kauṭalyaḥ*
has been considered to be apt to raise suspicion. Jacobi, *Über die
Echtheit*, p. 833, says that it is, as far as he knows, the only argument
which has been urged against Kauṭalya's authorship.

¹ Cf. Hillebrandt, *Über das Kauṭilyaśāstra*, Jahresbericht für vaterländische Kultur, 1908, pp. 1 ff.; Jacobi, *Zur Frühgeschichte der indischen Philosophie*, SBA 1911, pp. 732 ff.; Kultur-, Sprach- und Literaturhistorisches aus dem Kauṭilya, ibidem pp. 954 ff.; *Über die Echtheit des Kauṭilya*, ibidem 1912, pp. 832 ff.; Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur*, III, pp. 517 ff.

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Hillebrandt, l. c. p. 10, thought that we have to do with a work by an unknown author belonging to the school of Kauṭilya. But it seems to me that Jacobi, l. c. pp. 832 f., has shown that such cannot be the case.

An argument against the authenticity of the work has also been found in its disagreement in some details with Megasthenes' account of India. However, he cannot be characterized as a critical observer, but accepted even the most phantastical tales he heard. O. Stein, *Megasthenes und Kauṭilya*, pp. 104—16, laid stress on Megasthenes' statement that there were no slaves in India: *νενομοθέται γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς δοῦλον μηδένα τὸ παράπαν εἶναι; εἶναι δὲ καὶ τόδε μέγα ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ, πάντας Ἰνδοὺς εἶναι ἐλευθέρους οὐδὲ τινα δοῦλον εἶναι Ἰνδόν*. Kauṭilya, on the other hand, speaks of *dāsas*, slaves, in India. Breloer, *Kauṭilya-Studien* II, pp. 12 ff., has shown that the terms *δοῦλος* and *dāsa* are not synonymous. He might have added a reference to Kauṭilya III. xiii: *mlecchāṇḍam adoṣaḥ prajāṇi vikretum ādhātum vā na tv evāryasya dāsabhāvaḥ*, it is no fault with barbarians to sell their children or put them on, but an Aryan cannot be a slave. Such a statement would be apt to lead Megasthenes astray.

The fact that the Kauṭilya is written in Sanskrit might lead people to doubt that it can be so old as the 4th century B. C. E. Senart, *J. A. VIII. viii*, p. 404, says: *Pour le sanskrit classique, sa préparation dans le milieu brahmanique, fondée matériellement sur la langue védique, provoquée en fait par les premières applications de l'écriture aux dialectes populaires, doit se placer entre le III^e siècle avant J. C. et le I^{er} siècle de l'ère chrétienne. Son emploi public ou officiel n'a commencé de se répandre qu'à la fin du I^{er} siècle ou au commencement du II^e. Aucun ouvrage de la littérature classique ne peut être antérieur à cette époque.*

Jacobi, *Kultur. Sprach. und Literaturhistorisches*, p. 961, is certainly right when he says that already the use of Sanskrit in the epics shows that such is not the case. The case of Aśoka was an exception, an episode, pp. 957 f. In his administration the Brahmins were not the leading authority, and the result was not always advantageous to his empire.

Hillebrandt, l. c. p. 13, drew attention to the fact that there was a fixed and settled terminology in Indian political lore, and Thomas,

JRAS 1909, p. 466, 1914, p. 323, &c., pointed out that there are some unmistakable parallels to Kauṭalya's terms in the Aśoka inscriptions. But that does not prove that such terms were originally coined in Prākṛit. They can have been translated from Sanskrit for the use of Aśoka's officials. It is tempting to see an indication to this effect in the use of terms such as *prādesika-*, *mahāmātra-*, *samāja-*, &c., in the Girnar version.

That the Kauṭaliya was originally written in Sanskrit can hardly be doubted, and also Kauṭalya's predecessors are always quoted in that language. That does not, however, imply a later date than the 4th century B. C. We have an extensive prose literature in Sanskrit, in the Brāhmaṇas including the Upaniṣads, and in the Sūtras. And the old grammatical literature was based on and written in that language.

Then we have the Kāmasūtra, which according to Jacobi, *Über die Echtheit*, p. 841, in its original form cannot be older than the last half of the 5th century B. C., but which we only possess in a later retractatio, which Jacobi thought could not be older than the 3rd century A. D.

Another problem is raised by Kauṭaliya X. iii, where we read:
apīha ślokaḥ bhavataḥ:

*yān yajñasaṃghais tapasā ca viprāḥ svargaiṣiṇaḥ pātracayaś ca yānti |
kṣaṇena tān apy atiyānti śūrāḥ prāṇān suyuddheṣu parityajantaḥ ||
navam śarāvaṃ salilasya pūrṇam susaṃskṛtam darbhakṛtottarīyam |
tat tasya mā bhūn narakam ca gacched yo bhartṛpīṇḍasya kṛte na yudhyet ||*

The second stanza is also found in Bhāsa's Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa, IV. 3, and it may be asked to whom it originally belongs, to Kauṭalya or to Bhāsa.

Now Gaṇapati Śāstrī, in the introduction to his edition of the Svapnavāsavadattā, p. xxviii, draws attention to the fact that Kauṭalya does not elsewhere introduce his own verses with any such remark as here, and he draws the inference that Kauṭalya has borrowed the stanza from Bhāsa, while Jacobi, *Internationale Wochenschrift*, 1913, p. 655, thought that we may have to do with glosses. It is not possible to arrive at certainty, and if the stanzas cannot, for the reason stated by Gaṇapati, be ascribed to Kauṭalya, of which I am not at all certain, they may belong to that floating stock of stanzas by unknown authors

which were current in ancient times. And it should not be overlooked that Kauṭalya quotes two stanzas, and that only one of them can be traced in Bhāsa's play. I cannot see any serious objection to the assumption that Bhāsa has borrowed his stanza from Kauṭalya, and, so far as I can see, there is nothing that could lead us to think that Bhāsa is not considerably younger than Kauṭalya.

The most serious objection to referring Kauṭalya to the 4th century B. C. has been formulated by Jolly in his careful *Kollektaneen zum Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 1916, pp. 348 ff. He maintained that the parallels found in law-books and medical texts lead us to think of a period considerably later than the 4th century B. C.

This line of argument does not, however, carry conviction. It would be unconceivable that a work such as the Kauṭalya, which was certainly considered, during a very long period, to be the leading authority on Arthaśāstra, had been handed down without any changes or additions. We must accordingly make a careful examination of the work itself and try to find out whether it contains reminiscences of an earlier stage, without such changes and additions. That has been done by Jacobi in his important papers in the Berlin *Sitzungsberichte*, and I can only add some remarks as a supplement to his argumentation.

THE VIDYĀS

The second adhyāya of the first adhikaraṇa opens with the remark *ānvīkṣikī trayī, vārttā, daṇḍanītiś ceti vidyāḥ*. I shall follow Kauṭalya's enumeration of the various branches of knowledge, and begin with the *ānvīkṣikī*.

I. ĀNVĪKṢIKĪ

The term itself is well known from good sources and does not lead to any chronological inference. But it is of interest to see what Kauṭalya meant with it. In I. ii he says that it comprises *Sāṃkhya*, *Yoga* and *Lokāyata*: *Sāṃkhyam Yogo Lokāyatam ceti Ānvīkṣikī*.

The best analysis of this statement has been given by Jacobi, *Zur Frühgeschichte der indischen Philosophie*, Berliner *Sitzungsberichte*

1911, pp. 732 ff. So far as I can see he was evidently right when he maintained that Kauṭalya was the first one to teach that there are four *vidyās*, the fourth being the *Ānvīkṣikī*, which looks into right and unright in the *Trayī*, advantage and disadvantage in the *Varttā*, right and wrong measures in the *Daṇḍanīti*, and, with reasoning, into the strength and weakness of these (three) *vidyās*: *dharmādharmau trayyām, arthānarthau varttāyām, nayānayau daṇḍanītyām, balābale caitāsāṃ hetubhir anvīkṣamāṇā*. *Ānvīkṣikī* is accordingly a systematical method of investigation, without reference to the character of the individual *vidyās*.

Kauṭalya's predecessors are stated to have denied the existence of the *Ānvīkṣikī* as a *vidyā* of its own. The Mānavas included it in the *Trayī*: *trayīviśeṣo hy ānvīkṣikī*; the Bārhaspatyas also excluded the *Trayī*, because it was only an obscuration to him who knows the ways of the world: *saṃvaraṇamātraṃ hi trayī lokayātravida iti*, and the Auśanasas did not recognize more than one *vidyā*, the *Daṇḍanīti*, because all exertions in *vidyā* are bound up with it: *tasyām hi sarvavidyārambhāḥ pratibaddhā iti*.

Four as the number of the *vidyās* was later on recognized by all authorities. But it is characteristic that they make the *ānvīkṣikī* an *ātma-vidyā*, i. e. it ought to be orthodox and lead to final emancipation.

Not so Kauṭalya, and he could accordingly enumerate the *Lokāyata* together with *Sāṃkhya* and *Yoga*, though he knew that the Bārhaspatyas were heretics who did not believe in the *śruti*. *Lokāyata* is the method of this world, practical philosophy, which was an auxiliary in every branch of knowledge. Jacobi draws attention to the fact that Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika are not mentioned, clearly because they did not then exist as independent systems, nor the two Mīmāṃsās, because Kauṭalya included them in the *trayī*. I do not doubt that Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika are later outcomes of the old *Lokāyata*, but that is of no importance in the present connection. On the other hand, it is of interest that there is no reference to Buddhist tenets such as the *Kṣāṇikavāda*, probably because they did not play a prominent rôle in Kauṭalya's days.

II. TRAYĪ

The second vidyā according to Kauṭalya was Trayī, *i. e.* the three first Vedas. But it is added that also the Atharvaveda and the Itihāsaveda are Vedas, and that the term also comprises the Vedāṅgas: Śikṣā, Kalpa, Vyākaraṇa, Nirukta, Chandoviciti and Jyotiṣa: *Sāma Rg Yajurvedās trayas Trayī. Atharvavedetiḥāsavedau ca veḍāḥ. Śikṣā Kalpo Vyākaraṇam Niruktam Chandoviciti Jyotiṣam iti cāṅgāni.* This is in accordance with other old sources and does not lead to any chronological inference.

The Itihāsaveda is stated, in I. v, to include Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra: *Purāṇam Itivṛttam Akhyāyikā Udāharāṇam Dharmaśāstram Arthaśāstram ceti Itihāsaḥ.* With regard to Arthaśāstra this is explained in the 3rd stanza V. vi of the great chapter on *Yogavṛtta*, the methods of government officials, to which the Arthaśāstra properly belongs:

itivṛttapurāṇābhyaṃ bodhayed arthaśāstravit |

knowing the Arthaśāstra he (the minister) should instruct (the king) through *itivṛtta* and *purāṇa*. The Arthaśāstra can thus be included in the term *Itihāsa*, to which it does not properly belong, because it contains accounts of how things happened (*itivṛtta*) and old tales (*purāṇa*) given as illustrations (*udāharāṇa*). The same thing can of course be said of the Dharmaśāstra.

It is of no interest for our present purpose to give precise definitions of the various terms used in this text. The important thing to us are these tales themselves, because the form they take in the Kauṭaliya might conceivably lead to chronological inferences; cf. Jacobi, *Kultur, Sprach- und Literaturhistorisches*, pp. 970 f. It will, therefore, be advisable to go into details. We evidently have to do with ancient traditional and popular tales, which partly existed already in Vedic times, and which we also know from the epics and folk-tales.

I. vi mentions rulers who have perished because they had not subdued their senses; and others who long enjoyed the earth because they exterminated the six inimical forces (*śatruṣaḍvarga*), *viz.* *kāma*, *kṛpa*, *lobha*, *māna*, *mada* and *harṣa*.

1. *kāma*: *Dāṇḍakyo nāma Bhojaḥ kāmād brāhmaṇakanyām abhi-manyamānaḥ sabandhurāṣṭro vinanāśa Karālaś ca Vaidehaḥ*, through

desire, violating a brāhmaṇa virgin, perished, with relatives and kingdom, the Bhoja named Dāṇḍakya and Karāla the Videha-King. The tale about Bhoja Dāṇḍakya is, as mentioned by Jacobi, referred to in the same terms in the Kāmasūtra, p. 24, which is younger than the Kauṭaliya, and further in the Rāmāyaṇa, VII. 79—81, where the king's name is Daṇḍa, and the Jātakas 522.21, 530.27, where he is called Daṇḍakin. The Videha-prince Karāla is mentioned in the Viṣayatyāgopadeśakulaka, which is not accessible to me, but is evidently a late work.

2. *kopa*. *kopāj Janamejaya brāhmaṇeṣu vikrāntas Tālajaṅghas ca Bhṛguṣu*, through anger (perished) Janamejaya, assailing brāhmaṇas, and Tālajaṅgha with the Bhṛguṣu. Mhbh. XII. 150.3 we read:

*āsīd rājā mahāvīryaḥ Pāriksij Janamejayaḥ |
abuddhipūrvam āgacchad brahmahatyāṃ mahūpatiḥ ||*

there was a king of great vigour, Janamejaya the son of Parikṣit; injudiciously he betook himself to brāhmaṇa murder. And Mhbh. III. 303.17 runs:

*amānayan hi māuṛhān Vātāpiś ca mahāsuraḥ |
nihato brahmadanḍena Tālajaṅghas tathaiṣa ca ||*

3. *lobha*: *lobhād Ailāś caturvarṇyam atyāhārayamaṇaḥ Sauvīraś ca Ajabinduḥ*, through greed, overassessing the four varṇas, perished Aila and Ajabindu Sauvīrā. Cf. Mhbh. I. 75. 20 ff.:

*vipraiḥ sa vighrahaṃ cakre vīryomattaḥ Purūravāḥ |
jahāra ca sa viprāṇāṃ ratnāny utkrośatām api
tato maharṣibhiḥ kruddhaiḥ śapto sadyo vyanaśyata ||*

vigour-maddened Purūravas quarrelled with the brāhmaṇas, and he took away the jewels of the brāhmaṇas, though they cried out then he at once perished, cursed by the angry brāhmaṇas.

4. *māna*. *mānād Rāvaṇaḥ paradārān aprayacchan Duryodhano rājyād aṃsaṃ ca*, through haughtiness (perished) Rāvaṇa not giving up the other's wife, and Duryodhana (not giving up) a share in the kingdom. The tales here referred to are too well known to need any comment.

5. *mada*: *madād Dambhodbhavo bhūlāvamānī Haihayaś ca Arjunaḥ*, through wantonness (perished) Dambhodbhava [!], despising (other) beings, and Arjuna Haihaya, Mhbh. V. 96 relates how Dambhodbhava

went about in search of somebody equal or superior to himself, was referred to Nara and Nārāyaṇa, was defeated and humbled by them, and then began to practise righteousness. Here there is no reference to his perishing. Mhbh. III. 116 narrates how the Haihaya Arjuna came to Jamadagni's hermitage, carried off the calf of the *homadhenu* and pulled down the trees. Paraśurāma then chopped off Arjuna's thousand arms and killed him.

6. *harṣa*: *harṣād Vātāpir Agastyam atyāsādayan Vṛṣṇisaṅghaś ca Dvaipāyanam iti*, through merry-making (perished) Vātāpi doing violence to Agastya, and the Vṛṣṇi-community to Dvaipāyana (cf. above sub *kopa*, 2, for Vātāpi, and Mhbh. XVI. 1. 15 f. about the Vṛṣṇis and Dvaipāyana: they necked Viśvāmitra, Kaṇva and Nārada, dressing up Śamba as a woman and asking the saints what he would give birth to). Kauṭilya's statement that they did violence to Dvaipāyana is of importance, for, as mentioned by Jacobi, Lüders has shown, ZDMG 58, p. 691, that this is in accordance with the original version of the Jātakas.

The final stanza of I. vi then mentions Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma) and Ambariṣa Nābhāga as having enjoyed the earth for a long time, because they kept aloof from the *śatruṣaḍvarga*. As pointed out by Jacobi, there is no indication in the Mhbh. or in the first two books of the Rāmāyaṇa to the effect that Paraśurāma ever ruled over the earth as king.

Another series of tales is indicated in the Nisāntapraṇidhi, I. xx, about the dangers menacing a king in his harem: *antargrhagataḥ sthavirastrīparisuddhāṃ devīm paśyet. na kāṃcid abhigacchet. devīgrhe līno hi bhrātā Bhadrāsenaṃ jaghāna, mātulḥ śayyāntargataś ca putraḥ Kārūṣam. lājān madhuneti viṣeṇa paryasya devī Kāśirājāṃ, viśadighena nūpureṇa Vairantyaṃ, mekhalāmaṇinā Sauviraṃ, Jālūtham ādarśena, venyāṃ gūḍhaṃ śastraṃ kṛtvā devī Viḍūrathaṃ jaghāna*, having entered the inner apartment he should see his queen, after she has been proved to be pure by old women, and not approach any. For hidden in the queen's apartment the brother killed Bhadrāsena, and, lying in his mother's bed the son Kārūṣa. The queen killed the Kāśi king having put poison on parched grains, saying it was honey, Vairantya with an anklet besmeared with poison, the Sauvira with a girdle-jewel, Jālūtha with a mirror, Viḍūratha after having made a weapon hidden in her braid. Some of these tales are indicated in

Kāmandaki VII. 51 ff., where we find Vairūpya or Vairāja for Vairantya, and Jārūṣya for Jālūtha. Gaṇapati Śāstrī everywhere paraphrases the Kauṭaliya or the Mhbh., making some additions which he may partly have taken from a vernacular commentary in his possession, but which cannot be considered to be an old source.

A slight difference between the Kauṭaliya and the Mhbh. has been pointed out by Jacobi, p. 970. Kauṭaliya IV. viii states that there have been people who have been found among thieves without themselves being thieves: *yathā hi Māṇḍavyaḥ karmakleśabhayād acoraḥ coro 'smīti bruvāṇaḥ*, as Māṇḍavya, who was not a thief, but said he was from fear of molestation. Mhbh. I. 107. 9 says: *na kiñcid vacanaṃ rājann abravīt sādhu asādhu vā*, he did not say a word, good or bad.

Kauṭaliya V. v inculcates the necessity of observing the various behaviour also of other beings than men, and gives the following examples: *ayam uccaiḥ siñcatīti Kātyāyanaḥ pravavrāja*, Kātyāyana took the vows (saying): this one sprinkles high; *krauñco 'pasavyam iti Kaṇiṅko Bhāradvājaḥ*, Kaṇiṅka Bhāradvāja because there was a heron from the left: *ṭṇam iti Dīrghaś Cārāyaṇaḥ*, Dīrgha Cārāyaṇa on account of grass; *śīta śāṭīti Ghoṭamukhaḥ*, Ghoṭamukha because the cloak was cold; *hastī pratyaṅkṣīd iti Kiñjalkaḥ*, Kiñjalka because an elephant sprinkled towards him; *rathāśvaṃ prāṇasīd iti Piśūnaḥ*, Piśūna because a carriage with horses was praised; *pratiravaṇe śuṇaḥ Piśunaputraḥ*, the son of Piśuna when a dog barked against him. These tales are not, so far as I know, referred to in other sources. Gaṇapati Śāstrī gives explanations, but we do not know anything about his sources.¹ Piśuna is also quoted elsewhere, e. g. VIII, iii, where he is stated to have maintained that hunting is worse than gambling, because in the case of the latter *one may win*, as did Jayatsena and Duryodhana. But Kauṭalya objects that *one* must always lose, as shown by Nala and Yudhiṣṭhira. Jacobi, p. 970, reminds us of the fact that the Mhbh. speaks of Puṣkara and not of Jayatsena, but remarks that the latter is a likely name of Nala's brother.

Such tales were evidently numerous. On the other hand we scarcely find any indications pointing to the existence of kāvyas, of lyrical poetry, or a real drama. We know from Buddhist works and

¹ Cf. Jacobi, p. 959² about the curious names occurring in these tales.

from the discoveries in Chinese Turkistan that there were many lyrical poets in ancient days. And the oldest kavi known to us, Vālmiki, the author of the Rāmāyaṇa, takes us back to an earlier time than the 4th century B. C., and Jacobi, p. 972, maintains that Aśvaghoṣa's plays and his Buddhacarita show that there had been a long development which certainly goes back to that time. I am not able to accept this view. The Mahābhāṣya does not mention the drama, and Aśvaghoṣa is not older than the second half of the 1st, or, according to my chronology, the first half of the 2nd century A. D. The Kauṭaliya speaks of Kārttāntikas, Naimittikas and Mauhūrtikas I. xiii, and about Naṭas, Nartakas, Gāyanas, Vādakas, Vāgijīvanas and Kuśilavas I. xii, but what is meant are clearly various merry andrews, mimers, acrobats, mountebanks, &c., and not actors of real plays. And we ought to remember that such artists are not mentioned in the Aśoka inscriptions. So far as I can see the absence of all indications pointing to a real drama is an important sign of age.

Pantheon and Temples.

With regard to religion, we hear about sacrifices (*yajña*) as occasions when a king may be easily seen and attacked, and about temples (*grha*) for deities such as Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta, Vaijayanta, Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, the Aśvins, Śrī and Madirā; about *vāstu-devatās* (house-gods), about *dvāras* (town-gates) dedicated to Brahmā, Indra, Yama, and Senāpati, &c., but more is said about observances and rites of an Atharvanic nature. IV. iii speaks of *nadipūjā*, *Śacīnātha-Gaṅgā-parvata-Mahākacchapūjā*. XIV. ii mentions various methods for disfiguring, colouring, causing diseases, heat and fever, for healing and making insensible to heat and pain, preventing fire, &c., and XIV. iii speaks of herbs, appliances and charms aiming at seeing in the dark, making oneself and cattle invisible, walking in the air, opening shut doors, putting people to sleep, neutralizing weapons, causing constipation and blindness, &c. The charms contain several names of deities and asuras: Bali Vairocana, Śatamāya, Śambara, Bhaṇḍirapāka, Naraka, Nikumbha, Kumbha, Devala, Nārada, Śavarṇi Gālava, Suvarṇapuṣpi, Brahmāṇi Brahmā Kuśadhvaja, &c. They are partly known from the Mhbh. and other sources, and have evidently

to do with practices which played a considerable rôle in the crafty political system of the Maurya minister.

The Āyurveda was held to be an Upāṅga of the Atharvaveda, and we have already seen which great rôle magic plays in Kauṭalya's medical notes. We there learn his names of various drugs and herbs, which are mostly known from old sources such as Suśruta, Caraka, and the Bower Manuscript, *e. g.* *kūrcikā*, inspissated milk; *kustumburu*, coriander; *tuvarī*, lac, &c. There are numerous detailed notes on fermentation, on grains and plants, on ores and their treatment, alchemy, amalgam, calcination, &c. It is of interest that mercury (*rasa*) was known. It is also mentioned by Caraka and Suśruta, and in the Bower Manuscript, but elsewhere mainly in later texts. Also *śulba*, sulphur, occurs, and it is perhaps best not to try to find out whether it has anything to do with the Latin word.

The whole system of the administration, under which everybody in the king's neighbourhood, the queen, the princes, the ministers, and down to the meanest labourer, was mistrusted and watched, led to detailed rules and regulations about everything.

VEDĀNIGAS

1. Śikṣā.

There is only one statement in the Kauṭaliya which is connected with Śikṣā, *viz.* II.x *akārādayo varṇās triṣaṣṭiḥ*, there are 63 sounds, beginning with *a*. We know from the commentary of the Taitt. Prātiśakhya that the Śikṣākāra had said *triṣaṣṭiś catuṣṣaṣṭir vā varṇāḥ Śambumate matāḥ*. The number 63 is also given in the Harivaṃśa 16161.

2. Kalpa.

The Kalpa-sūtras are Śrauta-, Gṛhya- and Dharmasūtras. Kauṭalya mentions the well-known rules about the duties of the four *varṇas* (castes) I.iii, which do not enable us to draw any chronological inference. We may note, however, the reference to remarriage of a widow, III.ii, which is certainly a sign of a comparatively early period.

3. *Vyākaraṇa*.

Kauṭalya's notes about *Vyākaraṇa* are of considerable importance in connection with the question of date.

If we abstract from Pāṇini, the most important old grammatical work is the *Mahābhāṣya*, which presupposes a long development of grammatical lore between its author and Pāṇini. And we can, with some confidence, maintain that some of Pāṇini's statements have been taken over from his predecessors.

Some of the authorities he quotes are also known from the Kauṭaliya and the *Kāmasūtra*, and as pointed out by Jacobi, *Kultur-, Sprach- und Literaturhistorisches*, p. 959², the predecessors of Kauṭalya and Vātsyāyana were sometimes also grammarians, and there is, moreover, a remarkable agreement between Pāṇini and Kauṭalya in the use of some grammatical terms.

Kauṭaliya II. x says: *varṇasamghātaḥ padam. tac caturvidhaṃ nāmākhyātopasarganipātāś ceti*, a word is a combination of sounds, and it is of four kinds: noun, verb, preposition, particle.

This agrees with Yaska's *Nirukta* I. 8: *catvāri padajātāni nāmākhyāte copasarganipātāś ceti*, and *Mahābhāṣya* p. 3¹⁷: *catvāri padajātāni nāmākhyātopasarganipātāś ca*. Pāṇini does not use the terms *nāma* and *ākhyāta* for noun and verb, respectively, but replaces them by *sup* and *tiñ*. It would, however, not be advisable to draw any chronological conclusions from this difference in terminology. As stated by Jacobi, l. c. p. 966, Kauṭalya's definition of the terms *upasarga* and *nipāta* are, moreover, in accordance with Pāṇini and evidently based on his rules; of Kauṭalya II. x *kriyāviśeṣitāḥ prādaya upasargāḥ. avyayāś cādayo nipātāḥ* with Pāṇini I. iv, 56 ff. *prāg īśvarān nipātāḥ. cādayo 'sattve, prādaya upasargāḥ kriyāyoge*.

A small, but interesting detail is the use of the particle *ataḥ* in summing up a discussion, in the final stanza of VII. vii (where Shama Sastri changes to *ādau*), as frequently in the *Mahābhāṣya* with the meaning (and I say) "therefore", introducing the reason; cf. Lüders, *Sitzungsberichte* 1916, p. 729.

4. *Nirukta*.

We cannot expect to find any remarks connected with the fourth Vedāṅga, the *Nirukta*, in the Kauṭalya. But the enumeration of the four classes of words just mentioned, with the concluding *ceti*, looks like a quotation from Yāska.

5. *Chandas*.

Kauṭalya cannot be expected to give rules about metrics, but Jacobi, p. 971, has shown that his own usage is in close agreement with that of the Rāmāyaṇa, and this is certainly a sign of age.

6. *Jyotiṣam*.

As mentioned by Jacobi, p. 972, a primitive astrology existed in Kauṭalya's days. Of planets only *Brhaspati* (Juppiter) and *Śukra* (Venus) are mentioned, II.xxiv, but that does not show that they were the only ones known, and IX.iv we read about *nakṣatras* and *tīlhis*, the latter without further explanation.

Much fuller are the notes about the calendar. II.vi explains the term *kāla*, time: *rājavarṣam māsaḥ pakṣo divasaś ca vyūṣṭam. varṣā-hemantagṛiṣmāṇām trītyasaptamā divasonāḥ pakṣāḥ, śeṣāḥ pūrṇāḥ. prthag adhimāsaka iti kālah*, royal year, month, fortnight, and day (are) the *vyūṣṭa*. In *varṣāḥ* (the rains), *hemanta* (winter) and *grīṣma* (summer) the third and seventh fortnights are lacking one day, the other ones are full. The additional month stands apart, all this is *kāla* (time). Breloer, Staatverwaltung im alten Indien, pp. 257 f., follows Shamasastri, Second Oriental Conference, Calcutta 1922 (not accessible to me) and takes *vyūṣṭa* to mean beginning of the year, but the use of *iti* before *vyūṣṭa*, as elsewhere in Kauṭalya's practice, shows that we have to do with a technical term, which seems to mean gone away, cf. *vyūṣṭha* in the Rūpmāth edict of Aśoka.

Each of the three seasons mentioned above contained two months or four fortnights, thus together 6 months or twelve fortnights. The third and the seventh fortnights were each one day shorter than the others. There were thus 2 short as against 10 full fortnights, but nothing more is said about this matter. Then comes the accessory month, and all this is what is called *kāla*.

II. xx we read: *dvināliko muhūrtah. pañcadaśamuhūrto divaso rātrīś ca Caitre māsy Āsvayuje ca māsi bhavataḥ. tataḥ paraṃ tribhir muhūrtair anyataḥ śaṃmāsaṃ vardhate hrāśate ceti*, a muhūrta has two *nālīs*. A day and a night last 15 *muhūrtas* in (the months) *Caitra* and *Āsvayuja* (i. e. at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes). Thereafter either increases or decreases during six months with three *muhūrtas* (i. e. they increase from *Caitra* onwards and decrease from *Āsvayuja*). Now as a *muhūrta* is equivalent to 48 minutes, the longest day would have 18 *muhūrtas* or 14 hours 24 minutes, the shortest 9 h. 36 m. And this is in full agreement with old sources, and with the remark about the three short fortnights. We evidently have to do with the days of the lunar months.

The term *vyuṣṭa* is also used about the entering of receipts in the *akṣapaṭala* (treasury), II. vii. The superintendent should enter the income after *vyuṣṭa*, place of deposit, time, heading, origin, way of coming in, measure, payer, collector, entering clerk, and receiving officer: *vyuṣṭadeśakālamukhotpattyanuvṛttipramāṇadāyaka dāpakanibandhakapratigrāhakaiś cāyaṃ samānayet*. Here the first, *vyuṣṭa*, is the *rājavarṣa*, the year of the king, and we know from the Aśoka inscriptions that regnal dates were given in elapsed years. The entries should accordingly mention how many years, months, fortnights, and days had gone when the payment was made, the place where it was made, the time (rains, &c.) of entry, &c. There are similar instructions about expenditure (*vyaya*), capital (*nīvī*), but all this has nothing to do with the calendar.

About the lunar months we read, II. xx: *pañcadaśāhorātrāḥ pakṣaḥ. somāpyāyanaḥ śuklaḥ. somāvacchedano bahulaḥ*, a fortnight has 15 day-nights; when the moon increases, it is bright, when it is cut, dark.

Further we have the usual distinction between the northward and southward motion of the sun, the former beginning in the cold season, the latter in the rains: *śiśirādy uttarāyaṇam. varṣādi dakṣiṇāyaṇam*. And we have the usual six seasons, each containing two months: *dvau māśāv ṛtuḥ. Śrāvaṇaḥ Proṣṭhapadaś ca varṣaḥ. Āsvayujaḥ Kārttikaś ca śarat. Mārgaśīrṣaḥ Pauṣaś ca hemantaḥ. Māghaḥ Phālgunaś ca śiśiraḥ. Caitro Vaiśākhaś ca vasantaḥ. Jyēṣṭhāmūṛtya Āṣādhāś ca grīṣmaḥ*. This seems to be in disagreement with the Brāhmaṇas, which give Phālguna and Caitra for *vasanta*; *Vaiśākha* and

Jyaiṣṭha for *grīṣma*; *Āṣāḍha* and *Śrāvaṇa* for *varṣaḥ*, &c. But it will be seen that this only means that in the Kauṭaliya the months begin with full-moon, as is sometimes also the case in other old sources.

Then we have some remarks about the varying length of months for special reasons: *triṃśadahorātraḥ prakarmamāsaḥ*, a work-month has 30 day-nights; *sārdhaḥ sauraha*, a sun-month 30½; *ardhanyūnaś cāndramāsaḥ*, a moon-month 29½; *saptaviṃśatir nākṣatramāsaḥ*, a Nakṣatra-month 27; *dvātriṃśad malamāsaḥ*, 32 the intercalated month; *pañcatriṃśad aśvavāhāyāḥ*, 35 the month of horse-grooming; *cātvarīṃśad dhastivāhāyāḥ* 40 the month of elephant-grooming.

These rules are not known from other sources which I have seen.

Kauṭalya's geographical horizon can be ascertained from the names of localities mentioned by him, especially in connection with the provenience of various objects II.xi, xiii, xix, xxiv, xxv, xxx. It takes in the whole of India, from the Himālaya in the north to the Tamil country in the south, from Afghānistān in the west to Assam and Burma in the east. Outside of India Kauṭalya knew Ceylon and China. No chronological inference can be drawn from this state of things, for Jacobi was probably right in maintaining, *Sprach- und Literaturhistorisches* p. 961, that the name *Cīna* is not derived from the dynasty of the Tsin (247 B. C.).

The geographical names occurring in the Kauṭaliya cannot always be identified, when they are not known from other sources. In most cases Gaṇapati Śāstrī has tried to do so, and then I have added Gaṇ after the name. Sometimes it can be doubted whether we have to do with a name of locality or with a noun denoting some quality, and in such cases I have added a query. I have then drawn up an alphabetical list of such words, which may be of use, adding references to the text and the produce stated to be found in the various localities. Aparānta (Konkan and Malabar) II.xi (cotton), xxiv (about quantity of rain needed for sowing).

Avanti (Mālava) II.xxiv (the same).

Aśokagrāma (in Assam) II.xi (sandal).

Aśmaka (in Sind) II.xxiv (as with Avanti).

Āntarapatya (from the River Antaravati in Assam, Gaṇ) II.xi (sandal).

Āraṭṭa (the country of the Sindhurāja, cf. Mah. VI. 85. 3784) II.xxx (horses).

- Indravānika (from Kālīṅga, Gaṇ) II. xi (diamonds).
 Auttaraparvataka (from the North-Mountain, *i. e.* Himālaya) II. xi (skins).
 Kapiśā (river and town in the Kābul country) II. xxv (wine).
 Kāntanāvaka (?) II. xi (skins).
 Kāmbuka (? , some mountain. Gaṇ) II. xiii (silver).
 Kāmbojaka (from Kamboja, Eastern Afghānistān) II. xxx (horses).
 Kārdamika (from the river Kardamā in Persia, Gaṇ) II. xi (*mauktika*).
 Kālaparvata (?) II. xi (sandal).
 Kālingaka (from Kalinga, Coromandel) II. xi, xiii (cotton and touchstones).
 Kāśika (from Benares) II. xi (cotton and *kṣauma*, silken cloth).
 Kāsmaka, Kāntira, or Kāstira (reading and explanation uncertain) II. xi (diamonds).
 Kośākāraparvata (?) II. xi (sandal).
 Kauṭa (from *Koṭi*, between Malaya and the sea, Gaṇ) II. xi (gems, *maṇi*).
 Kauleya (from Kulā, a river at the Mayūragrāma, Ceylon, Gaṇ) II. xi (*mauktika*, pearl).
 Gośirṣa (Malayaikadeśe, Gaṇ) II. xi (sandal).
 Gauḍika (from Gauḍa, North Bengal) II. xiii (silver).
 Grāmeruka (Malayaikadeśe, Gaṇ) II. xi (sandal, *tailaparṇika* sandal).
 Cakravālī (an unidentified pit) II. xiii (silver).
 Cīnapaṭṭa, Cīnabhūmija (silk cloth from China) II. xi.
 Cīnasī (in Balkh) II. xi (skins).
 Caurṇeya (from the river Cūrṇi in the Kerala country, near the town Mūrāci, Gaṇ) II. xi (*mauktika*, pearls).
 Jambunada (from Jambūnādī, one of the branches of the heavenly Gaṅgā, cf. Mah. VI. 6. 243) II. xiii (gold).
 Jāvaka or Jāpaka (in Kāmarūpa, Gaṇ) II. xi (sandal).
 Joṅgaka, or Coṅgaka (in Kāmarūpa, Gaṇ) II. xi (sandal, *tailaparṇika* sandal, aloe).
 Tāpīpāśāṇa (a stone from the river Tāpī, Gaṇ's emendation, II. xiii, but r. *Kālingakasthālī pāśāṇo vā* (a Kālīṅga kettle or stone), II. xiii (touchstone).
 Tāmbraparṇika (from the river Tāmraparṇī in Malaya) II. xi (pearls).
 Tārṇasa (? , from the river Tṛnasā, Gaṇ) II. xi (sandal).

- Tuttha (an unidentified mountain, Gaṇ) II.xiii (silver).
 Taitala (unidentified) II.xxx (horses).
 Taurūpa (in Kāmarūpa, Gaṇ) II.xi (sandal).
 Daivasabhā (?) II.xi (sandal).
 Dongaka (in Kāmarūpa, Gaṇ) II.xi (aloe).
dvādaśagrāmīya (from 12 mleccha villages in the Himālaya, Gaṇ) II.xi
 (*bisī* and *mahābisī* skins).
 Nāgaparvata (unidentified) II.xi (sandal).
 Naipālaka (from Nepāl) II.xi (sheepskins).
 Pāṇḍyakavāṭaka (from Malayakoṭi hill, Gaṇ) II.xi (*mauktika*, pearls).
 Pāpeyaka (unidentified) II.xxx (horses).
 Pāralauhityaka (from beyond the Lauhitya, the Brahmaputra) II.xi
 (sandal).
 Pārasamudraka (from beyond the Sea, *i. e.* from Ceylon) II.xi (*maṇi*-
 gems, aloe).
 Pāsikya (from Pāsikā, a river near Pāṭaliputra, Gaṇ) II.xi (*mauktika*,
 pearls).
 Pūrṇakadvīpaka (from Pūrṇadvīpa in Kāmarūpa, Gaṇ) II.xi (*tailaparnika*
 sandal).
 Pauṇḍraka (from Puṇḍra, South Behār and Bengal) II.xi (*dukūla*
 silk, *kṣauma* silk, *patroṇa* silk).
 Praiyaka (unidentified) II.xi (skins).
 Bāhlaveya (from Balkh) II.xi (skins); Bāhlika II.xxx (horses).
 Magadha (South Behar) II.xi (*patroṇa* silk), xix (weights of stone).
 Maṇimantaka (hill in Northern India, *r. manthaka*, cf. Mah. XIII. 18.
 1328) II.xi (diamonds).
 Madhyamarāṣṭra (the Kośala country) II.xi (diamonds).
 Mādhura (from Madura) II.xi (cotton).
 Mālā (river between Indraprastha and Girivraja, cf. Mah. II.20.795)
 II.xi (*maṇi*, gems).
 Māhiṣaka (the country on the Narbadā, capital Māhiṣmatī) II.xi (cotton).
 Māhendra (from Mahendraparvata, the hills from Orissa to Madura)
 II.xi (*mauktika*, pearls).
 Mekala (Mount Amarakaṇṭaka where the Narbadā has its source; cf.
 Mah. VI.87.3855, where we read that the Mekalas followed the
 Kosala king) II.xix (weights of stone).
 Vāṅgaka (from Vāṅga, Eastern Bengal) II.xi (*dukūla* silk).

- Vātsaka (from Vatsa, capital Kauśāmbi) II.xi (cotton).
 Vāṇāyu (unidentified, cf. Mah. VI. 9. 365) II.xxx (horses).
 Vaiṇava (from Mount Veṇu, unidentified) II.xiii (gold).
 Śatakumbha (unidentified, cf. Mah. VI.9. 326) II.xiii (gold).
 Śākala (Sialkot) II.xi (inferior sandal).
 Śītodākīya (?) II.xi (inferior sandal).
 Śṛṅgaśukti (in Suvarṇabhūmi, Gaṇ.'s bhāṣāṭīkā) II.xiii (gold).
 Śrīkaṭanaka (?) II.xi (diamonds).
 Sabhāraṣṭra (Vaidarbha, Berār) II.xi (diamonds).
 Sātana (?) II.xi (sandal).
 Sātinā (?) II.xi (otter skins).
 Sāmūra, Sāmūlī (?) II.xi (skins from Balkh).
 Saindhava (from Sind) II.xxx (horses).
 Sauvīraka (from Suvīra) II.xxx (horses).
 Srautasīya (from Srutastī, a river Barbarakūle, Gaṇ.) II.xi (*mauktika*, pearls).
 Svarṇabhūmi (Burma) II. xi (*kāleyaka*, saffron); Sauvarṇakuḍyaka *tailaparnika*, *dukūla*, *patrorṇa* silk). (Acc. to E. Müller, Journal of the Pāli Text Society 1888, p. 102 "most probably the coast from Rangoon to Singapore).
 Haricandana (Harideśaja, Malayaikadeśe, Gaṇ) II.xi (sandal).
 Hāṭaka (Gandharvarakṣita deśa, cf. Mah. II.28. 1042) II.xiii (gold).
 Hārahūra (the Kābul country, *Kāpiśāyanam Hārahūram*) II.xxv (wine).
 Haimavata (from Himālaya) II.xi (*mauktika*, pearls).
 Haimya, Haimanya (*himāmbuniṣpādyā*, to be produced with snow-water, or, from the Himālaya) II.xxiv (amount of rain needed for sowing).
 Hrādiya (from the *hrada* Śrīghaṇṭa in Barbarakūla, Gaṇ) II.xi (*mauktika*, pearls).

III. VĀRTTĀ

I. iv opens with the remark: *kṛṣi-pāśupālye vaṇijyā ca vārttā*, agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade (constitute) the *vārttā*.

a. *kṛṣi*.

Kṛṣi, ploughing, is agriculture proper, sowing and harvesting. II. xxiv we read: *sūryād bījasiddhiḥ*, from the sun the maturing of

the seed; *bṛhaspatēḥ sasyānāṃ stambakaritā*, from Bṛhaspati (Jupiter, the deity of the month Puṣya, December-January) the forming of ears; *Śukrād vṛṣṭiḥ*, from Śukra (Venus, the deity of May-June) the rain; *tataḥ prabhūtodakam alpodakam vā sasyaṃ vāpayet*, then one should sow the grain needing much or little water; *śālivṛhikodravatilapriyaṅgudārakavarakāḥ pūrvavāpāḥ*, *śālī* and *vṛhi* rice, *kodrava* (Paspalum scrobiculatum), sesam, *priyaṅgu* (panic seed), *dāraka* (?), *varaka* (a kind of beans) are the first sowings; *mudgamāśaśaibyā madhyavāpāḥ*, *mudga* (Phaseolus Mungo) and *māśa* (Phaseolus radiatus) beans, and *śaibya* (?), the middle sowings; *kusumbamasūrakulutthayavagodhūmakalāyātasīsarsapāḥ paścadvāpāḥ*, safflower, lentils, small cardamoms, barley, wheat, peas, flax, mustard the last sowings . . . *śālyādi jyeṣṭham*, rice, &c., is the best; *ṣaṇḍo madhyamaḥ*, *ṣaṇḍa* (acc. to Gaṇapati bananas) middling, *ikṣuḥ pratyavaraḥ*. *ikṣavo hi bahvābādhā vyayagrāhiṇaś ca*, sugar-cane is the meanest, for the sugar-canes are connected with much trouble and causing expense.

We here have to do with the well-known *kharif* and *rabi* crops, ripening in the late autumn and spring, respectively, *i. e.* with special Indian conditions which have not changed in historical times. At the present day the chief *kharif* crop is rice, and the principal *rabi* crop wheat. Other crops rotated with rice are *kharif* millet, *kharif* linseed, &c. The most important *rabi* crop is wheat, rotated with linseed, *rabi* millet, chick-pea, &c. The state of things according to the Kautaliya is so similar that no further remarks are necessary.

A long series of botanical names, with notes on provenience, colour, smell and qualities, is found II.xi: *candana*, sandal with varieties called *tailaparnika*, *bhadraśrīya*, &c.; *aguru*, aloe; *kāleyaka*, Curcuma xanthorrhiza, &c.

Bhūmicchidravidhānam, II.ii, deals with *chidraś*, holes, gaps, in the soil, and is of importance for our understanding of the term *bhūmicchidranyāya*, the maxim of the rents in the soil, which is so common in inscriptions: *akṛṣyāyāṃ bhūmau paśubhyo vivītāni prayacchet*, on soil that is not to be ploughed one should leave pasture-grounds for the cattle; *pradiṣṭābhayasthāvarajaṅgamāni ca brāhmaṇebhyo brahmasomāranyāni, tapovanāni ca tapasvibhyo gotrakaparāṇi prayacchet*, groves for study and sacrifice, where stationary and movable objects are secure, one should give to brāhmaṇas, and groves for

austerities to ascetics, destined for the family (Gaṇ. corrects to *gorūta-parāṇi*). In inscriptions we occasionally read about *gotrāṇṣa*, the family share.

b. *paśupatiya*.

Much information about cattle-breeding is found in the chapters dealing with the overseers of cows, horses, and elephants (*godhyakṣa* II.xxix, *aśvādhyakṣa* II.xxx, *hastyaadhyakṣa* II.xxxi). We learn to know the designations of various kinds of herds, including the *lubdhakas*, hunters, who have to guard against harm from snakes, wild animals, &c. They should be paid in cash (*hiranya*) and not with milk or butter, in order not to harm the calves.

Each herdsman takes care of 100 animals. In the case of old cows, milch-cows, pregnant cows, *paṣṭhauhis*, and heifers, these should be equally divided into five groups, and one person should take over each group.

The term *paṣṭhauhi* is of interest. It is used in the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā, the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, the Kāthaka, the Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra, and the Śatapatha, and explained in commentaries as a four years old heifer. The actual meaning is probably, as suggested in the Petersburg Dictionary, able to calve, ruttish. The form is explained in Patañjali's notes on Pāṇini VI.iv. 132 and the three vārttikas there, and it is evidently old.

There are notes about various breeds, about herding, feeding, grooming, training and stabling, marking and clipping, about trappings of elephants, galloping, trotting, &c.

Bells are to be attached to the animals in order to frighten away snakes and wild animals and to warn the herdsmen about the danger.

We read about hides and skins, about the hairs of deer, about wool, silk, cotton, &c., and we are told about the size of the loads to be carried by the various animals of burden.

It was a capital crime if a herdsman slaughtered or carried away an animal or caused this to be done. But, as remarked by Jacobi, Über die Echtheit, p. 841. 1, Kauṭalya has no objection to meat-eating. We know that Aśoka only after some years made great restrictions in this respect, and Yājñavalkya, Śat. Br. III.1.2.2, declared that he did eat it if it were soft. And the sale of meat was regulated by

the *sīnādhyakṣa*, the overseer of the slaughterhouse, II.xxvi. There was also a regulated sale of alcoholic drinks, under the *surādhyakṣa*, the overseer of spirituous liquors, II.xxv.

All this is evidently a sign of an early age.

c. *vaṇijyā*.

Vaṇijyā, trade, was an important item and organized in great detail. The *saṁāhartṛ*, collector, II.vi, had, *inter alia*, to look after *vaṇikpatha*, merchant's path, by land (*sthalapatha*) or by sea (*varipatha*); after the *paṇyasamsthā*, ware-houses, the *vaṇij*, traders, &c., and the *āya*, official income derived from such items. The *paṇyādhyakṣa*, ware-controller, II.xvi, has to be informed about wares produced on dry land and in water (*sthalajalaja*), brought in by land or sea-routes (*sthalapathavārīpathopayāta*), their varying value (*sārāphalgvarghāntara*), and whether they are much or little demanded (*priyāpriyāta*), about the proper time to distribute or to collect, to buy or to sell (*vikṣepa-samkṣepakrayavikrayaprayogakāla*); he should fix prices, regulate the sale, and control tolls and taxes.

The *nāvādhyakṣa*, ship-overseer, II.xxviii, should look after sea-going- and river-craft (*samudrasaṁyānanadīnukhatarapracāra*); the *mudrādhyakṣa*, seal-overseer, II.xxxiv, should provide the carriers of in- and outgoing wares with passage-stamps, charging a certain amount in fees. Provided with such stamps one could enter and leave the place: *mudrādhyakṣo mudrāṁ māśakena* (7—8 *guṇjas* in cash) *dadyāt. samudro janapadaṁ praveṣṭuṁ niṣhramituṁ vā labheta*.

In this connection it may be convenient to mention the chapter *janapadaniveśaḥ*, II.i, the transferring of people from or to other countries: *bhūtāpūrvam abhūtāpūrvam vā janapadaṁ paradeśāpavāhanena svadeśābhiṣyandavamanena vā niveśayet*, an old or new place for people he should settle by leading it away from other countries or by "vomiting" the surplus of one's own country.

As mentioned by Jacobi, Kultur-, Sprach- und Literaturhistorisches, p. 960, we are here informed about sending out colonies, and he is certainly right in maintaining that not only the Dekhan, but also Further India had been brought under the sway of Brāhmanism in Kautalya's days.

The term *svadeśābhiṣyandavamana* is of some interest, because it was evidently known to Kālidāsa. Raghuvamśa XV. 29 and Kumārasambhava VI. 37 he says that Mathurā and Ośadhiprastha, respectively, were founded, as it were, after making a "vomiting" of the surplus (population) of heaven (*svargābhiṣyandavamanam kṛtvevopaniṣita*).

I have no doubt that Kālidāsa has borrowed this expression from the Arthasāstra, and then probably from the Kauṭaliya. For he is evidently indebted to the same source in another passage. The first editor of our text, R. Shama Sastri, draws attention to Kauṭalya's praise of hunting, VIII.iii, because it leads to exercise (*vyāyāma*), does away with phlegm, bile, fat, and sweat (*ślesmapittamedahśvedanāśa*), makes one familiar with aiming at fixed and movable aims (*cale sthira ca kāye lakṣaparicaya*), gives insight into the mind of the deer in anger, fear, standing and striving (*kopabhayaasthānehiteṣu ca mṛgāṇāṃ citta-jñāna*). He aptly compares the 5th stanza of the second act of the Śakuntalā:

*medaśchedakṛśodaram laghu bhavaty utthānayogyam vapuḥ
sattuānām api lakṣyate vikṛtimac cittaṃ bhayakrodhayoh |
utkarṣaḥ sa ca dhanvinām yad iṣavaḥ sidhyanti lakṣye cale
mithyaiva vyasanam vadanti mṛgayām idṛg vinodaḥ kutaḥ ||*

the body, with the belly thinned through the reduction of fat, becomes light and capable of exertion; one also sees how the mentality of animals is modified in anger and fear; and then this glory of the archers that the arrows hit in the moving aim: falsely indeed do they call hunting a dissipation; where is there such a pastime?

There are here so many parallels, even in the wording, that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Kālidāsa knew Kauṭalya's text.

IV. DANDANĪTĪ

Dandānīti, "the leading of the rod", i. e. the exercise of punitive power, is the most important branch of knowledge from the viewpoint of government. Some of Kauṭalya's predecessors went so far as to say that it was the only one. He himself states, I.iv, that the

(king) makes the own party and the other party subject to his will by means of *kośa* (treasure) and *daṇḍa* (punishing power); *daṇḍa* provides security in the other branches of knowledge (*ānvikṣikītrayi-vārttānāṃ yogakṣemasādhano daṇḍaḥ*), and *daṇḍanīti* leads to acquisition of what one has not got, preservation of what one has got, increase of what has been preserved, and use of the increase for worthy objects (*alabdhalābhārthā labdhaparirakṣaṇī rakṣitavivardhanī vṛddhasya tīrtheṣu pratipādānī ca*); the course of wordly life it dependent on it, and he who cares for this should always raise the *daṇḍa* (*taṣyām āyattā lokayātrā | tasmāl lokayātrārthī nityam udyatadaṇḍaḥ syāt*); if it is not applied the result is the fish-maxim, for the stronger devours the weak ones where there is nobody who holds the rod (*apraṇīto hi mātsyanyāyam udbhāvayati | baliyān abalaṃ hi grasate daṇḍa-dharābhāve*).

Here we should accordingly expect to learn more than anywhere else about Kauṭalya's policy and principles, the more so because his remarks here make a strong personal impression.

The problems connected with *daṇḍanīti* have therefore been carefully dealt with by the authorities quoted above, and, most fully, by Breloer, Staatsverwaltung im alten Indien, where we also find a long list of technical terms and special expressions. It will not, therefore, be necessary to give a long analysis of all details.

The king is the *daṇḍadhara* and, on the whole, the supreme ruler. But kingship has to be exercised through associates, a single wheel (an undivided rule) does not roll; therefore he should appoint companions and listen to their advice:

*sahāyasādhyāṇī rājatvaṇī cakram ekaṇ na vartate |
kurvīta sacivāṇs tasmāt teṣāṃ ca śṛṇuyān matam ||*, I.vii.

We read, I.xiii, about the subjects who made Manu Vaivasvata king, oppressed through the *mātsyanyāya*, and settled as his share a sixth of the grain, one tenth of the proceeds of trade, and gold, and therefore the kings bring the subjects security and take away their guilt; even the dwellers in the forest bring a sixth of their gleanings. This well-known fiction is kept alive, but in reality it is the impossibility of making one wheel run which makes it necessary for the king to have coadjutors.

Amātyotpatti, the appointing of ministers, is dealt with I.viii, and that of councillors and family-priests, *mantripurohitotpatti*, I.ix, and the necessary qualifications for such charges are discussed. I.x then proceeds to show how the reliability or non-reliability of the ministers should be tested by various trials and temptations. Without such tests nobody is trusted.

The king is the central figure of the state, and it may be worth while noting that he is simply designated *rājā*, as Aśoka in his edicts. I.vi inculcates the importance of *indriyajaya*, "victory over the senses", selfdiscipline, without which the king at once would perish, though he ruled over the earth within its four limits. Under the head of *Itihāsaveḍa*, above pp. 9 f., we have read about the disastrous results of neglecting this discipline under the influence of *aṛiṣaḍvarga*, the six inimical forces *kāma*, *kopa*, *lobha*, *māna*, *mada* and *harṣa*. I.vii is a continuance of I.vi, and deals with *rājarṣivṛttam*, the proper behaviour of the royal saint: *indriyajayaṃ kurvīta*, *vṛddhasaṃyogena prajñāṃ*, *cāreṇa cakṣuḥ*, *utthānena yogakṣemasāadhanam*, *kāryānuśāsanaena svadharmasthāpanam*, *vinayam vidyopadeśena*, *lokapriyatvaṃ arthasaṃyogena*, *hitena vṛttim*, he should effect victory over his senses, insight through associating with old, *i. e.* experienced, people, eye (sight) through spying, means of security through energy, keeping people to their duty by instruction in what is to be done, discipline by teaching knowledge, popularity in the world by providing for its weal, and regulate his conduct by what is wholesome.

Then follow the chapters about the choice of councillors and ministers and the *upadhāḥ*, tricks, trials, used for testing their trustworthiness.

I.xi: *upadhābhiḥ śuddhāmātyavargo gūḍhapuruṣān utpādayet kāpaṭikodāsthitaḥ grhapatikavaidehakatāpasavyañjanān satṭritikṣṇarasa-dabhiḥṣukīś ca*, having tested the host of councillors by means of trials, he should appoint hidden persons (secret agents) disguised as *kāpaṭikās*, *udāsthitās*, *grhapatikās*, *vaidehakās*, *tāpasās*, and *satṭriṇas*, *tikṣṇās*, *rasadās* and *bhiḥṣukīś*. These terms are then explained: *paramarimajñāḥ pragalbhaḥ chātrah kāpaṭikah*, a *kāpaṭika* is an intrepid scholar who knows the weak points of others; *pravrajya-pratyavasitaḥ prajñāśaucayukta udāsthitaḥ*, an *udāsthita* is one who has resolved to take the vows and is in possession of insight and

honesty; *karṣako vṛttikṣiṇaḥ prajñāśaucayukto grhapativyañjanaḥ*, a cultivator out of employment, who is in possession of insight and honesty, is a householder in disguise; *vāṇijako vṛttikṣiṇaḥ prajñāśaucayukto vaidēhakavyaṇjanaḥ*, a tradesman in disguise in a merchant out of employment, who is in possession of insight and honesty; *nupūṣo jaṭilo vā vṛttikāmas tāpasavyaṇjanaḥ*, an ascetic in disguise is a person with shaved hair or twisted locks. I.xii: *ye cāpy asaṁbandhino 'vaśyabhartavyās te lakṣaṇam aṅgavidyāṁ jambhakavidyāṁ mātṛgataṁ āśramadharmāṁ nimittam antaracakram ity adhīyānāḥ sattriṇaḥ saṁsargaviḍyā vā*, and sattrins are also those who, not being related (Gaṇ. reads *ye cāśya saṁbandhino*), and should certainly be supported, who have studied the marks (indicative of good luck), the lore of body (marks), the lore of charms (cf. Mhbh. V. 64.67), delusion, the rules about the various stages of life, omīna, the intermediate circle (i. e. the meaning of the varying direction of birds' flight), or the art of associating with people (cf. Mhbh. XIV. 7.7 where Nīlakaṇṭha glosses *kapaṭaveśacchanna*); *ye janapade śūrās tyaktātmāno hastinaṁ vyālaṁ vā dravyahetoḥ pratiyodhayeyus te tīkṣṇāḥ*, sharpers are those who with danger to their life, for the sake of gain fight an elephant or tiger before people; *ye bandhuṣu niḥsnehāḥ krūrās cālasās ca te rasadāḥ*, poisoners are those who, not loving their relatives, are cruel and idle; *parivrajikā vṛttikāmā daridrā vidhavā pragalbhā brāhmaṇy antaḥpure kṛtasatkārā mahāmātrakulāny adhigacchet*, a wandering female mendicant, wanting a livelihood, poor, a widow, bold, a brāhmaṇi, honoured in the harem, should approach the high officials; *bhikṣukīpratiśedhe dvāḥsthaparamparā mātāpitravyaṇjanāḥ śilpakārikāḥ kuśilavā dāśyo vā gūṭavādyabhāṇḍagṇḍhalekhyasaṁjñābhīr vā cāraṇi nirhareyuh*, where female mendicants are not admitted, the door-keepers, one after the other, people disguised as parents, or charwomen, songstresses, or female slaves, should bring out the information, or others by means of indications through song, music, or writing hidden on utensils; *dirgharogonmāḍāgnirasavisargeṇa vā gūḍhanirgamanam*, or they should go out secretly on account of a long illness, madness, or causing fire or poisoning. *Trayaṇām ekavākye saṁpratīyayaḥ*, where three say the same thing, they should be trusted.

Such agents the king should employ in order to get informed about everybody in his service in his own country. And they should

not know about each other. They should also be sent abroad, to foe and friend, those between both, and those who are indifferent, and find out who can and who cannot be managed, and what people tell.

I.xv, *Mantrādhikārah*, gives rules about the deliberations in council and about the necessity of secrecy, and here Kauṭilya quotes the opinions of his predecessors and finally gives his own, that much depends on the different circumstances. His opinion about the proper number of ministers is similar, one must consider their ability. The ruler should look into matters together with those who are present and communicate with those who are not in writing (*patrasaṃpreṣaṇena*).

His messengers (*dūtās*) may be fully entrusted with the object in view, with the power of a councillor (*nīṣṣṭārtha*), or with a quarter less (*pādaguṇahīnaḥ parimitārthaḥ*), or only with a half, as simple order-carriers (*ardhaguṇahīnaḥ śāsanaharaḥ*). They must be careful to notice everything and to reveal nothing, as set forth in *Dūtapraṇidhiḥ*, I.xvi.

I.xvii, *Rājaputrarakṣaṇam*, the watching over the princes. The king guards his rule against near and distant people, and in the first place against his consort and sons, as set forth in some detail in this and the following chapters.

I.xix, *Rājapraṇidhiḥ*, gives a sketch of the king's working day, which is, in most details, repeated by later authors. It may be noted that the secret agents should be received in the first part of the night, evidently to secure greater secrecy, and they should be sent out in the last but one.

I.xxi, *Ātmarakṣitakam*, the guarding of (the king's) person, shows how important this matter was considered to be. As soon as he rises, he is taken care of by female archers (*śayanād utthitāḥ strīgaṇair dhanvibhiḥ parigrhyeta*). Meant is clearly the royal body-guard of women, who were later on called *yavanī*, Greek women. This designation is not, so far as I know, found earlier than in Kālidāsa's works. But it can well be older. The much discoursed *yavanānī*, which Kātyāyana in Vārttika on Pāṇini IV.i. 49 says means Greek writing, can very well mean a Greek woman. There is absolutely nothing in Pāṇini's text which points to another meaning than in the remaining words formed with the suffix *ānī*, which all designate the female corresponding to a masculine ending in *-a*. And I do not understand how the Indians could have received any information

about Greek writing before Alexander, and, we may add, Kātyāyana. Pāṇini, on the other hand, must belong to an earlier time.

In other apartments the guarding is taken over by armed attendants of various kinds; in the kitchen the king's food is tasted in beforehand, to see if it may be poisoned, &c.

When the king goes out, everything is done to protect him against danger.

The second chapter, *Adhyakṣapracārah*, deals with the many "over-seers" who have to look after the various branches, about their offices and stations. The terms used in this section are mostly unknown from old sources and probably coined by Kauṭalya.

An important official, with extensive control of state business, is the *saṃnidhātṛ*, the depositor or Treasurer General, II.v. He provides for the building of a *kośagrha*, treasure house; a *panyagrha*, ware-house; a *koṣṭhāgāra*, granary, store-room; a *kupyagrha*, wood-arsenal; an *āyudhāgāra*, weapon-arsenal, and a *bandhanāgāra*, prison, and rules are given for their erection and safety and about the punishment of negligence.

Another high functionary was the *saṃāhartṛ*, the Collector General, II.vi, xxxv. He should control *durga* (difficult passages, places to be approached with care), *rāṣṭra* (ploughing, taxes, &c.), *khani* (mining), *śctu* (places for sowing and irrigating flowers, fruits, &c.), *vana* (groves for cattle, game, wood, elephants), *vraja* herds of cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, donkeys, camels, horses and mules), and *vanikpatha* (trade-routes). All these, partly artificial, terms are specified. The various items form part of the income (*āya*), which should be balanced against the expenses (*vyaya*).

Numerous oversceers are at work in this connection. In the *akṣapaṭala* (treasury) the overseer should have a place made for the *nibandhapustakas* (ledgers) where the number, provenience and origin of the various heads, gains and losses, profit, fees and tolls, are booked. This is the *gāṇanikyādhikāra*, the accountant office, II.vii.

II.viii explains how one should restore what is removed by the *yuktas*, a term which we know from the Aśoka edicts, where it has been shown by Thomas, Ind. Ant. 37.21, JRAS 1909, 467; 1914, 387 ff., to mean official. Every undertaking is dependent on wealth, and therefore one should first of all look after one's wealth (*kośapūrvāḥ*

sarvārambhāḥ | tasmāt pūrvanī koṣam avekṣeta). The terms *koṣavyddhi* and *koṣakṣaya* (increase and decrease of the treasure), &c., are explained, and we read about many devices for cheating, and how they can be detected and punished.

II.ix, *upayuktaparīkṣā*, testing of the over-officials, enjoins the appointment of *sarvādhyakṣās* (overseers general), with the competence of councillors (*amātyasaṃpadopeta*), and acquaintance with their activity. They should act according to their instructions, neither consulting nor opposing each other, and they should inform their master about everything they undertake, unless it is to obviate some calamity. Their actions should be controlled by spies and secret agents.

II.x, *Śāsanādhikāraḥ*, the chapter about royal orders, mentions the *lekḥaka*, the secretary who has to put them into writing. He should have the competency of a councillor (*amātyasaṃpadopeta*), know the whole conventional usage (*sarvasamayavid*), be able to write quickly (*āsugrantha*), have a pleasing hand-writing (*cārvakṣara*), be able to read out the written message (*lekḥavācanasamartha*) and to write it down in the proper order (*arthakrama*) and sequence (*saṃbandha*), with completeness (*paripūrṇatā*), urbanity (*mādhurya*), nobility (*audārya*), and clearness (*spaṣṭatva*), i. e., as pointed out by Jacobi, Kultur, Sprach- und Literaturhistorisches, p. 967, we have to do with the rudiments of a literary style. Among the shortcomings of a writer, II.x, is mentioned the use of dirty sheets (*kālapatraka*), and from II.xxvii we learn that the writing materials were leaves of *tālī* and *tāla* palms and birch-bark. Copperplates are not mentioned, and we do not know whether they were used before Aśoka's time.

We learn to know a long series of *adhyakṣas*, overseers, superintendents: the *koṣādhyakṣa*, II.xi, receives everything of value that should be deposited in the treasury, pearls, necklaces, gems, sandal; aloe, oils, hides and skins, wool, &c., and the designations, provenience and shapes of such objects are mentioned; the *ākaraḍhyakṣa*, the mining overseer, II.xii, looks after the produce of mining, ores and metals from old and new pits, from the ground or from water, their colour, smell, and other features, their cleaning, weight and sale, the punishment of embezzlement and fraud, &c.; the *lohādhyakṣa* takes care of copper-, lead-, tin-, mercury- and bell-metal work and the sale of utensils made from them; the *lakṣaṇādhyakṣa* looks after the

stamping of coins; the *rūpadarśaka*, assayer, regulates the *pañayātrā*, the procedure of paying and receiving fees, the *rūpika* with 8 %, the *vyāṇi* with 5 %, the *pārikṣika* with $\frac{1}{8}$ %; the *khanyadhyakṣa*, the pit-overseer, provides for the works connected with shells, diamonds, pearls, corals, saltpetre, and for their sale; the *lavaṇādhyakṣa* collects the salt-tax and the duties on sale of salt.

II.xiii, *akṣaśālāyāṇi suvarṇādhyakṣa*, the gold-overseer in the treasury, provides for the erection of a treasure-hall, with four unconnected rooms, and installs a dexterous and reliable goldsmith in the main street, who carefully examines the metals. No stranger was admitted, and those who had to work there were carefully searched on entering and leaving. We read about the various kinds of work done by them, for which cf. Jolly's *Kollektaneen*, pp. 355 ff., where most of the technical terms have been satisfactorily explained. Cf. II.xiv, *viśikhāyāṇi sauvarṇikapracāraḥ*, the activity of the goldsmith in the main street, where we also read about the various ways of defrauding and the punishment of fraud.

II.xv, *koṣṭhāgārādhyakṣa*, the store-house overseer, superintends *sītā*, *rāṣṭra*, *krayima*, *parivartaka*, *prāmityaka*, *apamityaka*, *siṅghanikā*, *anyajāta*, *vyayapratyāya*, and *upasthāna*, and all these terms are explained. Further he takes care of corn, fat, molasses and salts (*dhānyasnehakṣāralavaṇa*), honey (*madhu*), acids (*śukta*), sour fruits and gruel (*āmlavarga*), pungent stuffs, pepper, &c. (*kaṭukavarga*), dried fish, meat, roots, fruits, pot-herbs, &c. (*śākavarga*), about all of which information is given, *i.e.* about how much is to be eaten by elephants, horses, &c.

II.xvi, *paṇyādhyakṣa*, the ware-controller, s. above under *vaṇijyā*, p. 23.

II.xvii, *kupyādhyakṣa*, the *kupya* controller, takes care that the rangers bring the *kupya*, *i.e.* the valuable wood, bamboes, creepers, bark, rope materials, leaves, flowers, plants, poisons, snakes and worms in jars, hides, bones, &c., of various animals, iron ores, wicker- and clay-utensils.

II.xviii, *āyudhāgārādhyakṣa*, the controller of the weapon arsenal, provides for the manufacturing and deposition of all kinds of weapons and war-implements, armour and trappings, stratagems, &c.

II.xix, *pautavādhyakṣa*, the weight- and measure-controller, takes care of the various weights and scales.

II.xx, *mānādhyakṣa*, the measure-controller, should be familiar with linear measures, the subdivisions of time, &c.; cf. above under *Jyotiṣa*, pp. 15 ff.

II.xxi, *śulkaādhyakṣa*, the tax controller, establishes a tax hall (*śulkaśālā*) with a badge or flag (*dhvaja*) near the head-gate, where the tax-receivers control merchants and others and see to it that their wares are properly stamped. The traders offer their wares for sale and pay the taxes and duties. We read about what can be brought in duty-free, and about the punishment for attempts at defrauding.

II.xxii, *śulkaavyavahāra*, deals with the tax question. There was an *ātithyam* (guest's treatment) of out- and in-going wares, and duty for what should be brought outside and entered (*bāhyam ābhyantaram cātithyam, niṣkrāmyam praveśyam ca śulkaṁ*). The guest's treatment, applied to exports and imports free from duty, is specified II.xxi: *vaivāhikam anvāyanam aupayānikam yajñakṛtyaprasavanaimittakam devejyācaulopanayanagodānavratadīkṣanādiṣu kriyāviśeṣeṣu bhāṇḍam ucchulkaṁ gacchet*, wares and utensils connected with the marriage and home-bringing (of the bride), and with initiation in the ceremonies, in sacrifices, birth, offerings to the gods, tonsure, investing with the sacred thread, hair-cutting, vows and consecration, should pass free of duty. The duty itself varies from $\frac{1}{5}$ to $\frac{1}{10}$ of the value.

II.xxiii, *sūtrādhyakṣa*, the thread-inspector, takes care of spinning and weaving operations.

II.xxiv, *sītādhyakṣa*, the furrow-inspector, is in charge of ploughing and harvesting, cf. above under *vārttā*, p. 20.

II.xxv, *surādhyakṣa*, the liquor-superintendent, regulates the liquor-trade. Drinking was not yet a great sin.

II.xxvi, *sānādhyakṣa*, the slaughterhouse-superintendent, takes care that protected animals are not slaughtered, and regulates the sale of meat, which was by no means forbidden cf. above under *paśupatiya*, p. 22.

II.xxvii, *gaṇikādhyakṣa*, the courtesan-inspector, has the supervision of brothels, &c.

II.xxviii, *nāvādhyakṣa*, the ship-superintendent, s. above under *vaṇijyā*, p. 23.

II.xxix, *godhyakṣa*, the cattle-superintendent; II. xxx, *aśvādhyakṣa*, the horse-superintendent; II.xxxi, *hastyaḍhyakṣa* the elephant-super-

intendent; II. xxxii *hastyadhyakṣe hastipracāra* the dealings with elephants under the elephant-superintendent; II. xxxiii, *rathādhyakṣa*, *paṭhyadhyakṣa*, *senāpatipracāra*, the superintendents of war-chariots and foot-soldiers, the activity of the army-leader, are officials whose activity is clear from their designations.

II. xxxiv *mudrādhyakṣa*, *vivītādhyakṣa*, the superintendents of passports and pasture land, take care that out- and in-goings can be controlled.

II. xxxv, *samāhartṛpracāraḥ*, *grhapativaldehakatāpasavyaṇjanāḥ prapīdhayaḥ*, the activity of the *samāhartṛ*, the sending out of persons disguised as householders, traders, or ascetics, cf. above pp. 26 f. Under the direction of the *samāhartṛ* other officials act as inspectors, a *gopa* (lit. cow-herd) of five or ten villages; a *sthānika* (lieutenant) of a district-quarter; persons garbed as householders of fields, houses and families; others, as traders, of wares and products from mining, forests, &c.; others, as ascetics, cultivators, cowherds, traders, &c.

II. xxxvi *nāgarakaprapīdhi*, appointment of a town-chief, police-master, whose functions are similar to those of the *samāhartṛ*, but limited to a town. A *gopa* has charge of groups of 10, 20 or 40 families; a *sthānika* of a *durga*-quarter; the *dharmāvasathinaḥ*, the managers of the *dharmāvasatha* now called *dharmasālā*, rest house, put up sectarians, travellers, ascetics and learned persons, &c. Care is taken to avoid and to extinguish fire, to prevent incendiarism and throwing out of rubbish, sweepings, &c.

As we have seen, the ruler has many assistants and helpers, but they are not trusted, but constantly controlled by scouts and secret agents. Even these are distrusted. They must not know each other, they are received and sent out at night, and their reports are examined and compared. When three agree, they may be reliable, but suspicion is the prevailing attitude towards everybody. It is difficult to avoid thinking of R̥gveda VII. 61.3:

*prōrōr Mitrāvaruṇā prthivyāḥ
prā divā ṛṣvād bṛhatāḥ sudānū |
spāśo dadhāthe ōsadhīṣu vikṣu
īdhag yatō ānīmāṇi rākṣamāṇā, ||*

O Mitra and Varuṇa, from the broad earth, from the high heaven you place scouts in herbs and dwellings, who go separately, watching them without shutting your eyes.

And this policy is ancient in India. What is said about Mitra and Varuṇa, was a reflex of what was the rule in the state, for, as the Indians say:

yadannaḥ puruṣo bhavati tadanmās tasya devatāḥ |

what man eats, that his gods eat, *i. e.* man has created the gods in his own image.

V. MANDALAYONIḤ

An important term in Kauṭalya's political language is *maṇḍala*, circle, sphere, where the political methods are applied, and its *yonī*, origin, source; cf. VI.i *maṇḍalayaniḥ*. It comprises the ruler, who wishes to conquer, his enemies, those standing between them, and the indifferent ones. The constituent elements of the body politic are ruler, ministers, people, fastnesses, treasure, army and friends: *svāmyamātya-janapadadurgakośadaṇḍamitrāṇi prakṛtayaḥ*. We are told which accomplishments are desirable with each *prakṛti*; cf. VI.i *prakṛtisampadaḥ*.

VI.ii *śamavyāyāmikam*, about pacification and vigour, opens with the remark that these two are the source of acquiring and preserving: *śamavyāyāmau yogakṣemayoṣ yoniḥ*. In this connection are added the designations of the persons with whom the state policy is concerned: the *vijigīṣu*, the ruler bent on conquest; *ariprakṛtiḥ*, the enemy element, *i. e.* the neighbouring kings (*tasya samantato maṇḍalibhūtā bhūmyantarā*); the *mitraprakṛtiḥ*, the friend element, separated by another country (*bhūmyekāntarā*). After the enemy we then have, in uninterrupted sequence, friend, foe's friend, friend's friend, foe's friend's friend in front, the *pārṣṇigrāha*, the *ākṛanda*, the *pārṣṇigrāhāsāra* and the *ākṛandāsāra* behind (*tasmān mitram arimitraṃ mitramitram arimitramitram cānantaryeṣa bhūmīnāṃ prasajyate purastāt | paścāt pārṣṇigrāha ākrandaḥ pārṣṇigrāhāsāra ākrandāsāra iti*). I am not able to give a satisfactory translation of these terms, which have perhaps mostly been coined by Kauṭalya, but their meaning is perfectly clear and fully explained in Kauṭalya's text.

The source of pacification and vigour is the six-quality group (*śamavyāyāmayor yoniḥ śāḍgunyam*). The word *śāḍgunya* is not known from older sources and was probably introduced by Kauṭalya. It is formed in accordance with Pāṇini V.i.124: *guṇavacanabrāhmaṇādibhyaḥ karmaṇi ca* (the suffix *ṣyañ*) after words expressive of quality and after *brāhmaṇa*, &c., in the sense of being and of activity. No authorities are quoted in the chapters *maṇḍalayoniḥ* and *śamavyāyāmikam*, which make the impression of being the independent work of Kauṭalya.

VII. ŚĀḌGUNYAM

Śāḍgunya is treated at length in the eighteen sections of the 7th *adhikaraṇa*. Its source is the *prakṛtimaṇḍala*; *śāḍgunyasya prakṛtimaṇḍalaṇi yoniḥ*. Differing opinions are occasionally quoted, usually with the remark *iti ācāryaḥ*, thus the teachers, but once, VII.i, with the addition *iti Vātavyādhiḥ*, thus *Vātavyādhi*. We get the impression that Kauṭalya has put the section into its final shape, after his predecessors had begun to draft it. There are several comparisons from daily life and practice, which make the text livelier than usual in the Kauṭaliya, and we have every reason to think that they are due to Kauṭalya. Thus VII.iii he who goes to war against a stronger one is compared with one who fights an elephant on foot.

The six qualities are enumerated VII.i: *saṁdhi*, *vigraha*, *āsana*, *yāna*, *saṁśraya*, *dvaiddhībhāva*, and here Kauṭalya agrees with his predecessors, only Vātavyādhi dissenting. *Saṁdhi* is explained as meaning *paṇabandha*, agreement; *vigraha* as *apakāra*, harming, war; *āsana*, sitting, as *upekṣā*, overlooking, disregarding; *yāna*, going, marching, as *abhyuccaya*, increase, *scil.* of one's own resources; *saṁśraya*, leaguings, joining, as *parārpaṇa*, entrusting oneself to another, and *dvaiddhībhāva*, duplicity, as *saṁdhivigrahopādāna*, adopting agreement and fight. It is shown at great length which of the six qualities brings the greatest advantage in the varying circumstances, and how one ought to act when two go together and each of them wants to get the better of the other (*atisaṁdhātum*).

VIII. JURISDICTION

The 3rd and 4th *adhikaraṇas*, *Dharmasthīya*, the judge-activity, and *Kaṇṭakaśodhana*, the thorn-clearing, have been fully dealt with by Jolly, *Eine neue indisch Rechtsquelle*¹, and it is superfluous to give a detailed analysis in the present place.

As stated by Jolly, the former deals with minor, the latter with more serious crimes; the former under the presidency of three judges (*dharmastha*), and three councillors (*amātya*), the latter under three higher judges (*pradeśtr*) or three councillors (*amātya*). The former comprises twenty, the latter thirteen *adhyāyas*.

The word *dharmasthīya* is formed with the suffix *īya*² from *dharmastha*, which Kullūka states to mean *prāḍvivāka*, judge (Manu VIII.57). *Kaṇṭaka*, thorn, is, according to the same authority (Manu IX.252), *caurasāhasikādi*, thieves, felons, &c., thorns from the view-point of the state, enemies of good government. *Pradeśtr* is known from the *Pañcatantra* (ed. Bühler, 2. edition, Bombay 1881, p. 48⁴), but the ultimate source of these terms can very well be Kauṭalya.

Since jurisdiction is dealt with in the *Arthasāstra*, one might be inclined to think that, from the beginning, it formed part of political lore, as it was finally codified by Kauṭalya. A priori, however, we would expect it to belong to the *Dharmaśāstra*. And such was evidently the case.

No weight can be laid on the fact that *Dharmaśāstra* is mentioned before *Arthasāstra* in the enumeration of the treatises constituting the *Itihāsa*veda, I,v: *Purāṇam*, *Itivṛttam*, *Ākhyāyikā*, *Udāharaṇam*, *Dharmaśāstram*, *Arthasāstram*. But it is of especial interest that we read in the *Dharmasthīya*, III.i, that when the judge is in doubt which principles he should apply, he should act according to *dharma*:

*saṁsthā yā dharmasāstreṇa śāstram vā vyāvahārikam |
yasminn arthe virudhyeta dharmenārtham viniścayet ||*

where the convention or the lawsuit-lore (based on the saying of witnesses) is in disagreement with the *Dharmaśāstra* one should decide according to *dharma*. Shama Sastri compares Yājñavalkya II.21:

¹ Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, 37, pp. 329-347.

² See Renou, *Grammaire Sanscrite*, p. 251.

arthaśāstrāt tu balavad dharmasāstram iti sthitiḥ |

it is an established maxim that the Dharmaśāstra has more weight than the Arthaśāstra, which can very well be based on the Kautalya; cf. Nārada I.1.39 f.

There is still another detail which should not be overlooked. In the adhikaraṇas dealing with jurisdiction Kauṭalya only quotes such authorities as are known as authors of Dharmaśūtras, Uśanas, Bṛhaspati and Manu, and not the predecessors of Kauṭalya in the Arthaśāstra. Usually we find such statements as *ity ācāryāḥ . . . iti Kauṭalyaḥ* (III. iv, v; III. xix, xx (*neti Kauṭalyaḥ*); III. vi has *ity Auśānaso vibhāgaḥ*; III. vii *ity ācāryāḥ . . . ity apare . . . iti Kauṭalyaḥ*; III. xi *ity Auśānasāḥ . . . iti Mānavāḥ iti Bārhaspatyaḥ . . . itl Kauṭalyaḥ*; III. xvii *iti Mānavāḥ . . . ity Auśānasāḥ . . . ity Kauṭalyaḥ*.

Such indications point to the conclusion that Kauṭalya's chapters on jurisdiction are based on the Dharmaśāstras and have only been slightly modified. Jolly draws attention to one detail, the evident tendency to replace corporeal punishment, often a most barbarous one, by fines. And the reason is evident, the fines went into the king's pocket, with additional payments of *rūpa* (with 8 %) and *vyājī* (with 5 %).

On the other hand Kauṭalya does not make any reference to ordeals, but he speaks of eighteen kinds of torture of a most barbarous description (IV. viii). A *brāhmaṇa*, however, cannot be tortured: *sarvāparādheṣu apīḍanīyo brāhmaṇaḥ*. His forehead is marked as belonging to a criminal, and he can be banished or sent to the pits. As is well known, this exemption from torture is corroborated by a comparatively old source. In the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* (ed. Stenzler, p. 141.9 f.) Cārudatta, whom the Śākara accuses of having murdered Vasantasena, asks the Adhikaraṇika if the accusation made by such a villain should be accepted and not tested through an ordeal (*tad grāhyam bhavati? na tad vicāraṇīyam?*). And (p. 156.3)

viśasakīlatulāgniḥprārthite me vicāre

krakacam iha śarīre vīkṣya dātavyam iha |

atha ripuvacanād vā brāhmaṇam mām nihaṁsi

patasi narakamadhye putrapautraiḥ sametaḥ ||

now since an ordeal concerning me, through poison, water, weighing or fire has been demanded, and after seeing the saw that should be applied to my body, if you then slay me, a brāhmaṇa, on the word of my enemy, you fall into the midst of hell, accompanied by your sons and sons' sons.

The three *dharmasthas* and the three councillors should discharge law-suits on the border of a district, at the group-, *droṇa*-capital, and session courts: *dharmasthās trayo 'mātyā janapadasaṁdhisamgrahaṇadroṇamukhassthānīyeṣu vyāvahārikān arthān kuryuḥ*.

Most of these terms are explained in the *adhyakṣapracāra*, II.i. After having spoken about the foundation and arrangement of villages (*grāma*) Kauṭalya goes on to say: in the centre of a group of 800 villages he should establish a *sthānīya*, of 400 villages a *droṇamukha*, of 200 villages a *khārvaṭika*, of 10 villages a *saṁgrahaṇa*. These words are of rare occurrence and probably belong to the old terminology of jurisdiction. The Divyāvadāna mentions *droṇamukhyā* (p. 620.2) and *kārvaṭika* (445.2). *Khārvaṭika* is formed from *kharvaṭa*, which the Mitākṣarā, Yājñavalkya II. 167, glosses *pracurakaṇṭakasaṁtānagrāma*, a village with many "thorns", adding that the *pariṇāha*, circumference, of a *grāma*, a *kharvaṭa*, and a *nagara* should be 100, 200 and 400 *dhanus*, respectively.

Kauṭalya then goes on to explain what kinds of law-suits the judges should refuse to deal with: III.i *vyavahārasthāpanā vivādapadanibandhaḥ*, arrangement of procedure, treatise on objects of law-suits. *Tirohītāntaragāranaktāranyopadhyupahvarakṛtāṁś ca vyavahārān pratiśedhayeyuḥ*, they should not admit law-suits about what is done in secret, within the house, at night, in the forest, deceitfully, or clandestinely. There are exceptions to this restriction, and they are enumerated; cf. Yājñavalkya II. 31 f., Nārada I.i 43.

Then follows an important treatise about marriage, III.ii *vivāhasaṁyukte vivāhadharmaḥ strīdhanakalpa ādhivedanikam*, in connection with marriage, the marriage usage, the law about women's property, the gifts to a superseded wife. Then follow the designations of the traditional 8 kinds of marriage, in close accordance with the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya sūtra I. 6:

- I. *kanyādānaṁ kanyāṁ alaṅkṛtya brāhma vivāhaḥ*
 Āśv. I. *alaṅkṛtya kanyāṁ udakapūrvāṁ dadyād eṣa brāhma vivāhaḥ*

- Āśv. 2. *ṛtviḥ vitate karmaṇi dadyād alaṅkṛtya sa daivo*, see Kauṭalya 4.
 2. *sahadharma-caryā prājāpatyaḥ*, Āśv. 3 *saha dharmāṇi carata iti prājāpatyaḥ*.
 3. *gomithunādānād āraṣaḥ*, Āśv. 4 *gomithunaṇi dattvopayaccheta sa āraṣaḥ*.
 4. *antarvedyām ṛtviḥ dānād daivaḥ*, see Āśv. 2.
 5. *mithaḥ samavāyād gāndharvaḥ*, Āśv. 5 *mithaḥ samayaṇi kṛtvopayaccheta sa gāndharvaḥ*.
 6. *śulka-dānād āsaraḥ*, Āśv. 6 *dhanenopatoṣyopayaccheta sa āsuraḥ*.
 7. *prasahyādānād rākṣasaḥ*, Āśv. 7 *suṭlānāṇi pramattlānāṇi vāpaharet sa paśācaḥ*, see Kauṭ. 8.
 8. *suṭlādānād paśācaḥ*, see Āśv. 7; Āśv. 8 *hatvā bhittvā ca śīrṣāṇi rudatīm rudadbhyo haret sa rākṣasaḥ*, see Kauṭ. 7.

The correspondance is so close that we must infer that Kauṭalya has simply adopted the Vedic definitions. The numbers differ: Kauṭ. 2 = Āśv. 3, Kauṭ. 3 = Āśv. 4, Kauṭ. 4 = Āśv. 2, Kauṭ. 7 = Āśv. 8, Kauṭ. 8 = Āśv. 7. Nārada XII. 40—4 follows Kauṭalya.

Pitṛpramāṇās catvāraḥ pūrve dharmyāḥ, mātṛpitṛpramāṇāḥ śeṣāḥ; tau hi śulka-harau duhituḥ; anyatarābhāve 'nyataro vā, the four first ones are under the authority of the father and righteous, the other ones are under the authority of mother and father, for those two take the bride-price for the daughter, or one of them if one of them is not existing.

Dvītiyaṇi śulkaṇi strī haret; sarveṣāṇi prītyāropanam apratiṣiddam, a second (additional) bride-price the wife should take; to all it is unforbidden to give gifts of love. (Shama Sastri reads *advītiyaṇi*).

Vṛttir ābadhyaṇi vā strīdhanāṇi. Paradvīśasrā sthāpyā vṛttih | ābadhyāniyamāḥ, maintenance or ornaments are what is due to the wife; the maintenance should be settled up to 2000; there is no restriction on ornaments. It is further stated how she can spend this. What has been enjoyed in the *gāndharva* and *āsura* she should be made to give away, that in the *rākṣasa* and *paśāca* she should give as if it were stolen.

Mṛte bhartari dharmakāmā tadānīm evāsthāpyābharāṇaṇi ca labheta, when the husband has died, she should get her ornaments and the remainder of the bride-price, if she wishes to embrace a religious life; cf. Nārada I. 28; *labdhvā vā vindamānā*

savṛddhikam ubhayaṃ dāpyeta, or, if she has found (a new husband), she should be made to renounce both; *kuṭumbakāmā tu śvaśura-patidattaṃ niveśakāle labheta*, but if she wishes to have a household, she should get what is given by father-in-law and husband, at the time of settling down; *śvaśura-prātilomyena vā nivīṣṭā śvaśurapati-dattaṃ jīyeta*, or, if she has settled down against the wish of the father-in-law, she should lose what was given by father-in-law and husband; *jñātihastād abhinṛṣṭāyā jñātayo yathāgrhītaṃ dadyuḥ*, if she has been violated at the hand of her relatives, the relatives should give them in accordance with what was received; *nyāyopagulāyāḥ pratipattā strīdhanam gopayet*, of one who has been approached according to rule the man who gets her should guard the property or the wife; *patidāyaṃ vindamānā jīyeta*, when she finds (another husband) she should lose the inheritance from her husband; *dharmakāmā bhuñjīta*, if she wishes to embrace a religious life, she should enjoy it; *putravaṇi vindamānā strīdhanam jīyeta, tat tu strīdhanam putrā hareyuḥ*, if she has sons and finds (another husband), she should lose the wife-property, but the sons should take it; *putrabharaṇārthanī vā vindamānā putrārthanī sphāṭikuryāt*, or when she finds one, she should increase it for the benefit of her sons; *bahupuruṣaprajānām putrāṇām yathā pūtrdattaṃ strīdhanam avasthāpayet*, for sons begotten by many men she should settle the wife-property as it was given by the fathers; . . . *aputrā paṭisayanam pālayanī gurusamīpe strīdhanam āyuhkṣayād bhuñjīta, āpadarthanī hi strīdhanam, ūrdhvaṃ dāyadam gacchet*, if she, having no sons, keeps her husband's bed, in the presence of her superiors she should enjoy the wife-property till the end of her life, for the wife-property is there for the sake of calamities, and afterwards it should go to the heir.

The most interesting feature in these rules is the fact that they show that a widow could marry another husband, and this points to an early date for the Kauṭaliya. Modifications and minor additions there may have been made, but, so far as I can see, Jacobi's judgement about its authenticity still remains the most likely one.

Varṣāny aṣṭāv aprajāyamānām aputrāṃ bandhyāṃ cākāṅkṣeta, daśa nindum, dvādaśa kanyāprasavinīm; tataḥ putrārthī dvitīyāṃ vindeta; tasyātikrame śulkaṃ strīdhanam ardham cādhipedanikaṃ dadyāt, caturviṃśatipaṇaparaṃ ca daṇḍam, eight years he should wait

when the wife does not bear children, has no son, or is barren; ten when she is delivered of a dead child, twelve when she gives birth to girls; after that he should find a second (wife), if he wants a son, after the lapse of that he should give the bride-price and half of the wife's fortune as *ādhivedanika*, gift to the superseded wife, and a fine up to 24 *paṇas*; cf. Yājñavalkya II. 148, Manu IX. 81.

Sulkastrīdhanam aśulkastrīdhanās tatpramāṇam ādhivedanikam anurūpaṃ ca vṛttiṃ dattvā bahvīr api vindeta, putrārthā hi striyaḥ, having given bride-price and wife's property, a supersession gift of the same value, and a suitable maintenance, he may also find many, who have not received bride-price or wife's property, for women are there for the sake of (bearing) sons.

III.iii *Vivāhasanyukte śuśrūṣābharmapāruṣyadveṣāticāropakāravya-vahārāpratiṣedhāś ca*, in connection with marriages: obedience (to parents), maintenance (of females), harshness (in words and acts), disaffection, misconduct, forbidden favours and association.

Dvādaśavārṣā strī prāptavyavahārā bhavati ṣoḍaśavarṣaḥ punān, ata ūrdhvam aśuśrūṣāyāṃ dvādaśapaṇaḥ striyā daṇḍaḥ puṃso dviguṇaḥ, twelve years old a woman comes of age, sixteen years old a man; in the case of disobedience thereafter a woman is fined 12 *paṇa*, a man the double. In the chapter about marriages this can only bear reference to the proper age of marriage (cf. Manu IX. 94, Nārada I. 35 f.), and it is therefore of interest, for the younger the source, the lower the age. In the modern act about marriage of 1929 the corresponding figures are 14 and 18. There is no reference in the Kautaliya to marriage between children.

Bharmanyaṃ anirdiṣṭakālāyāṃ grāsacchādanam vādhikam yathā-puruṣaparivāpaṃ saviśeṣam dadyāt; nirdiṣṭakālāyāṃ tat saṃkhyāya bandham ca dadyāt, śulkastrīdhanādhivedanikānām anūdāne ca; śvaśurakulapraviṣṭāyāṃ vibhaktāyāṃ vā nābhiyojyaḥ patiḥ, when the maintenance has not been determined as to time, he should give food and clothing, or a little more, according to the place of the man, with something above; if it is determined as to time he should count out just a much and give a pledge, and without taking away bride-price, wife's property or supersession gifts; if she has gone to the house of her father-in-law or if there has been a partition of the property, the husband should not be sued.

Bharmanya evidently refers to the same thing as *bharma*. The meaning "hire, wages" given in our dictionaries is due to a misunderstanding of Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* 363. The meaning of *parivāpa* is uncertain. Mhbh. V. 111.2 Nilakaṇṭha glosses *sthāna*; Gaṇapati *gr̥habharaṇīya janopakaraṇānatikramaṇena*.

Pāruṣyam, harshness, when the husband scolds or beats his wife. Further comment is not necessary. *Dveṣa*, disaffection. After some remarks about what should be done in the case of conjugal infidelity, and about the husband's obligations in the case of physical defects (r. *duṣṭalīṅga*) and false statements the text deals with divorce: *amokṣyā bhartur akāmasya dviṣatī bhāryā, bhāryāyāś ca bhartā, paraṣparaṇi dveṣān mokṣaḥ*, a disaffected wife of a not-loving husband and a (disaffected) husband of (a not-loving) wife cannot obtain a divorce, but there is divorce from mutual disaffection. The last remark is not in agreement with later texts, cf. Nārada XII.90 *anyonyaṇi tyajator āgaḥ syād anyonyaviruddhayaḥ*.

Strīviprakārād vā puruṣaś cen mokṣam icched yathāgr̥hītaṁ asyai dadyāt; puruṣaviprakārād vā strī cen mokṣam icchen nāsyai yathāgr̥hītaṁ dadyāt; amokṣo dharmavivāhānam iti, if a man wishes a divorce on account of the wife insulting him, he should give her as he has received, or if the wife wishes a divorce on account of the man insulting her, he should not give her as he has received; there is no divorce in the case of the *dharmavivāhās* (the first four kinds of marriage).

Aticāra, misconduct. Punishment of a wife who, after having been warned (*pratiśiddhā*), shows arrogance, drinks, or takes to coquetry; goes to a show-entertainment of women or men in daytime or in the night (cf. Manu III.84); sleeps intoxicated when the husband has gone away and shuts the door to him; when she turns him out at night; when woman or man make gestures with their body aiming at cohabitation, or talk together in a secret way; when they catch hold of the hairs, the cloth, and make use of teeth or nails; when there is a conversation at a suspicious place: *pratiśiddhā strī darpaṁadyakrīḍāyām; divā strīprekṣāvihāragamane; puruṣaprekṣāvihāragamane . . . rātrau; sūptapramatā pravrajane bhartur ādāne ca dvārasya; rātrau niṣkāsaṇe; strīpūṃsayor maithunārthenāṅgaviceṣṭāyām rahalaśīlasaṃbhāṣāyām vā; keśanivīdantanakhāvalambaneṣu; śaṅkītaśthāne saṃbhāṣāyām*.

Upakāravyavahārapraṭiśedhāḥ, forbidden favours and association. *Pratiśiddhayoh stripūṃsayor anyonyopakāre*, when woman and man in spite of prohibition favour each other; *pratiśiddhapuruṣavyavahāreṣu*, in associations with forbidden persons, cf. Nārada XII.62, 66—68.

III. iv. *vivāhasaṃyukte niṣpatanaṃ pathy anusaraṇaṃ hrasvapra-vāsaḥ dīrghapravāsaś ca*, in connection with marriage: running away, following on the road, short absence, and long absence.

Niṣpatanam, running away. Punishment of a wife who leaves her husband's house if she has not been insulted (*anyatra viprakārāt*); if she goes beyond the neighbour's house (*pratīveśagṛhātigatāyāḥ*); if she has obtained admittance, alms, or wares, respectively, from neighbours, mendicants and traders (*pratīveśikabhikṣukavaidehakānāṃ avakāśabhikṣāpaṇyādāne*); if they have been forbidden her (*pratiśiddhānām*); if she has gone beyond the surrounding houses (*parigrhātigatāyām*); cf. Parāśara X.28—30.

Parabhāryāvavakāśādāne śatyo daṇḍo 'nyatrāpadbhyah; *vāraṇājñānāyor nirdoṣaḥ prativiprakārāt*, when admittance has been given to another's wife, there is a fine of 100, if there is not a calamity; there is no fault if they forbid or do not know, and against an insult.

Patijñātisukhāvasthagrāmikānvādhbhikṣukijñātikulānām anyatamam apuruṣam gantum adoṣaḥ, ity ācāryāḥ, it is no fault to go to one of the houses of a relative of the husband, a happily established village, a bail, a relative of a female mendicant, if there is no man, thus the teachers; *sapuruṣaṃ vā jñātikulam, kuto hi sādhvījanasya chalaṃ, sukham etad avaboddhum iti Kauṭalyaḥ*, or to the house of a relative where there is a man, for how could good womenfolk deceive? that is easy to find out, thus Kauṭalya.

Pretavyādhiṃyasanagarbhanimittam apratiśiddham eva jñātikulagamanam, it is not forbidden to go to a relative's house on account of death, disease, or pregnancy; *nimittam vārayato dvādaśapaṇo daṇḍaḥ, tatrāpi gūhamānā strīdhanam jīyeta, jñātayo vā chādayantaḥ śulkaśeṣam*, if he (the husband) does not admit the reason, there is a fine of 12 *paṇa*, and if she nevertheless hides there, she should lose her wife's property, or the relatives who hide her the remainder of the bride-price.

Pathy anusaraṇam, following on the way. *Patikulān niṣpatya grāmāntaragamane dvādaśapaṇo daṇḍaḥ sthāpyābharāṇalopaś ca*, when going to another village after having run away from the husband's house there is a fine of 12 *paṇa* and loss of the ornaments she has to deposit; *gamyena vā puṃsā sahaprasthāne caturviṃśatipaṇaḥ sarvadharmalopaś cānyatra bharmadānatīrthagamanābhyāṃ puṃsaḥ pūrvāḥ sāhasadaṇḍaḥ tulyaśreyasaḥ, pāpīyaso madhyamaḥ, bandhur adāṇḍyaḥ, pratiśedhe 'rdhadāṇḍaḥ*, if she sets out together with a man with whom she can have intercourse, the fine is 24 *paṇa*, and she loses all her rights with the exception of caring for the maintenance and going in the courses (to the husband); for the man it is the first violence fine (250 *paṇa*), if he is of equal standing, the middle (500), if he is inferior (cf. Manu VIII. 138 about *sāhasadaṇḍa*); a relative is not to be fined, if he is forbidden, the half.

Pathi vyantare gūḍhadeśābhigamane maithunārthena śaṅkitapratīṣiddhābhyāṃ vā pathy anusāreṇa saṃgrahaṇaṃ vidyāt, when she goes to an intermediate hidden place, or follows on the way people suspected or forbidden with regard to cohabitation, one should know that there is a sexual association (cf. Manu VIII. 356).

Tālāpacaracāraṇamatsyabandhakalubdhakagopālakaśaṃḍikānāṃ anyeṣāṃ ca prasṛṣṭastrīkāṇāṃ pathy anusaraṇam adoṣaḥ, there is no fault to follow on the way dancers, singers, fishers, hunters, cow-herds, liquor-sellers or others with loose wives.

Hrasvapravāsaḥ, a short absence. How long a wife has to wait for her absent husband, and then to whom she should turn, for it is a religious murder to obstruct the courses (*ārthoparodho hi dharmavadhaḥ*).

Dīrghapravāsaḥ, a long absence. How long a wife has to wait when the husband is long away, has taken the vows, or is dead, and then to whom she should turn.

III.v. *Dāyavibhāge dāyakramaḥ*, in the partition of inheritance, the succession at inheritance. How the different heirs should inherit is explained in essential agreement with the Dharmasūtras. I follow Gaṇapati in reading *rikthaṃ putravataḥ putrā duhitaro vā dharmistheṣu vivāheṣu jātāḥ*, the inheritance after a man who has sons, the sons or the daughters born in righteous marriages (the first four kinds of marriage) should take. Difficult is the passage *adāyādakaṃ rājā*

haret strīvṛttipretakadaryavarjam. It seems to mean that the king should confiscate the inheritance if there are no direct heirs, except when the deceased has been miserly with regard to the maintenance of his wife and his duties towards the departed ones. Gaṇapati changes *pretakadarya* to *pretakārya*, which looks like a *pis-aller*. Cf. Manu IX.185, Nārada XIII.50, Viṣṇu XVII.4—9, Yājñavalkya II.120.

III.vi *aṃśavibhāgaḥ*, apportionment of shares (in the inheritance). *Ekastrīputrāṇāṃ jyeṣṭhāṇśaḥ: brāhmaṇānām ajāḥ, kṣatriyaṇām aśvāḥ, vaiśyānām gāvaḥ, śūdrāṇām avayaḥ*, among sons of one mother the principal share with *brāhmaṇas* are goats, with *kṣatriyas* horses, with *vaiśyas* cows, with *śūdras* sheep, &c. *Nānāstrīputrāṇām . . . pūrvajanmanā jyeṣṭhabhāgaḥ*, among sons of different mothers the principal share is by primogeniture; cf. Āpastamba II.14.7, Manu IX.126.

III.vii *putravibhāgaḥ*, different sons. *Paraparigrahe bījam utsṛṣṭaṃ kṣetṛiṇaḥ ity ācāryāḥ*, a seed thrown into another's property belongs to the owner of the field, thus the teachers; *mātā bhastrā, yasya retas, tasyāpatyam ity apare*, the mother is a leathern bag, he who has the semen, to him belongs the child, thus others; *vidyamānam ubhayam iti Kauṭalyaḥ*, both is to be found, thus Kauṭalya. This is further explained. *Aurasa*, legitimate, is a son who is begotten with one's wife; equal to him is the *putrikāputra*, the son of one's daughter, and a son begotten through levirate is *kṣetrāja*, born in the field, i. e. legitimate; *janayitur asaty anyasmin putre sa eva dvipitrko dvigotro vā*, if the begetter has no other son, this one will have two fathers, eventually two *gotras*; *tatsadharmā bandhūnām grhe gūḍhajātas tu gūḍhajaḥ*, of equal rights with him is he who is born in the house of relatives, but *gūḍhaja* is one who is born clandestinely; *bandhunoṭsrṣṭo 'paviddhaḥ saṃskartuḥ putraḥ*, one who is rejected by a relative is an *apaviddha*, rejected, and is the son of him who initiates him; *kanyāgarbhaḥ kṇiṇaḥ*, the son of an unmarried woman is a *kṇiṇa*; *sagarbhōḍhāyāḥ sahoḍhaḥ*, he who is born by a pregnant woman is a *sahoḍha*; *punarbhūtāyāḥ paunarbhavaḥ*, the son of a remarried woman is a *paunarbhava*; cf. Yājñavalkya II.128 ff.; Manu IX.52, 166 ff.; Nārada XII.55, 58. Several other designations are added: *datta*, *upagata*, *kṛtaka*, *kṛita*, *ambāṣṭha* (son of a *brāhmaṇa* and a *vaiśyā*), *niṣāda* or *pārasava* (of *brāhmaṇa* and *śūdrā*), *ugra* (of

kṣatriya and sūdrā), *vrātya* (born by brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas or vaiśyas with women of the same castes, but without marriage), *śūdrād āyogava*, *kṣattr*, *caṇḍāla* (by a sūdra with a vaiśyā, kṣatriyā and brāhmaṇī, respectively), *vaiśyān māgadhaveidehakau* (by a vaiśya with a kṣatriyā and brāhmaṇī, respectively), *kṣatriyāt sūtaḥ* (by a kṣatriya with a brāhmaṇī), *kuṭaka* (by Ugrā and Naiṣāḍī), *pulkasa* (by Naiṣāda and Ugrā), *vaiṇa* (by Ambaṣṭha and Vaidehikā), *kuṣṭlava* (by Vaidehaka and Ambaṣṭhā), *śvapāka* (by Kṣattr and Ugrā); cf. Manu X. 6 ff.

III. viii *grhavāstukam*, about the homestead. Rules about the arrangement of the dwelling-place, its position with regard to neighbours so as to avoid conflicts; cf. Nārada XI. 15.

III. ix *vāstuvikrayaḥ*, sale of the homestead. Rules about the sale of homestead, settling of dissention with regard to boundaries, fields, &c. The reading is sometimes uncertain. For *kedāropadhabhogaiḥ* Gaṇapati reads *kedāropabhogaiḥ*, apparently without support in his manuscripts. Cf. Yājñavalkya II. 150 ff.; Manu VIII. 245, 258, 265; Nārada XI. 2, 10, 12, 26.

III. x *viṭtakṣetrapathahiṃsā samayasāyānapākarma ca*, damage to pasture-grounds, fields, and paths; not fulfilling of engagements. Rules about how to prevent damage to others by obstructing the water-supply, placing dams and objects of worship on foreign ground, appropriating or selling law-barriers; obstructing the paths; about cultivators not doing their duty; about a village-headman who turns a villager out; about improving and protecting the pasture-grounds; about how to deal with cattle grazing them off and how to drive them away; about ploughmen not doing their duty; about admittance to shows; about listening to one who says what is good for all, and about insulting people, &c. Reading and explanation of some passages uncertain. Cf. Yājñavalkya II. 159 f., 162, 165, 191—3; Manu VIII. 221, 237, 242; Nārada XI. 15, 34, 38; Viṣṇu V. 73.

III. xi, *ṛṇādānam*, recovering of debt. Detailed remarks about rates of interest, responsibility for debts of deceased persons, and several debts; about people who cannot be made responsible; about witnesses and persons not admitted as witnesses; about the different ways of examining witnesses, according to their caste; about the procedure when witnesses disagree or do not answer the questions put to them properly, &c., in general agreement with the smṛtis.

Cf. Manu VIII. 69 ff., 120 f., 140, 142, 152, 160; Yājñavalkya II. 38 ff.

III. xii, *upanidhikam*, about deposits. Detailed rules about *upanidhi*, deposits, and the responsibility of the depositary; about his utilizing the deposit or selling it; about his refusing to give it back and various ways of confounding him; about *ādeśa* and *anvādhi*, instructions and deposits given by one, e. g. a servant, to be handed over to another; about loans granted on request or hired objects; about *vaiyāvṛtyavikraya*, sale through commissioners; about restitution of deposits that have been lost or deteriorated, &c. Cf. Yājñavalkya II. 58 ff.; Manu VIII. 144, 181 ff.; Nārada II. 3, 7, 8, 18.

III. xiii, *dāsakalpaḥ*, the slave-law. We have already seen that an ārya cannot be a slave. Even a śūdra cannot be sold as slave. But mleccas can sell or buy their children. An ārya can pledge himself to work for others, but must be emancipated when his obligations are acquitted. They must not be put to improper work. The children of one who has "sold" himself are āryas. Cf. Yājñavalkya II. 194 f., 291; Manu VIII. 217, 415; Nārada V. 32 ff., VI. 2 f., 18 f.

III. xiv, *karmakarakalpaḥ, saṁbhūya samulthānam*, the law about hired labourers and collective undertakings. How to deal with a labourer who does not do his work; how if this is due to illness; similar rules for servants of a community, cultivators, traders; sacrificing priests, &c. Cf. Yājñavalkya II. 195; Manu VIII. 208, 215, 217; Nārada III. 8 f., VI. 2, 5; Viṣṇu V. 153, 157.

III. xv *vikṛitakṛitānuśayaḥ*, repenting a sale or purchase; cf. Nārada VIII. 4, IX. 5 f., XII. 3, 33; Viṣṇu V. 129.

III. xvi *dattasyānapākarma, asvāmivikrayaḥ, svasvāmisambandhaḥ*, not-delivery of a gift, sale by one who is not the owner, relation of possession and possessor. *Sarvasvaṁ putradāram ātmānaṁ pradāyānuśayinaḥ prayaccheta, dharmadānam asādhuṣu karmasu caupaghātikeṣu vā, arthadānam anupakāriṣu apakāriṣu vā, kāmādānam anarheṣu ca, yathā ca dātā pratigrahītā ca nopatau syātām tathānuśayaṁ kuśalāḥ kalpayeyuḥ; daṇḍabhayaḍ ākrośabhayaḍ arthabhayaḍ vā bhayaḍānam pratigṛhṇataḥ steyadaṇḍaḥ prayacchatus ca, roṣadānam parahiṁsāyām, rājñām upari darpadānam ca, tatrottamo daṇḍaḥ*, when one repents having given his whole property, child and wife, and himself, one should deliver it to him; (so also) a gift for religious purposes to people who prove to be

bad or (engaged) in harmful deeds, a money gift to people who do not help one or who harm one, a love-gift to unworthy people, and proficient persons should settle about the regret, so that giver and receiver are not prejudiced; he who accepts or gives a gift of fear, from fear of punishment, of censure, about one's property, is punished as a thief; (so also in the case of) a gift of wrath in harming others, and a gift of pride to kings, there is the highest punishment. Cf. Yājñavalkya II.176 f.:

*svaṃ kuṭumbāvirodhena deyaṃ dārasutūd ṛte |
nānvaye sati sarvasvaṃ yac cānyasmai pratiśrutam ||*

*pratigrahaḥ prakāśaḥ syāt sthāvarasya viśeṣataḥ |
deyaṃ pratiśrutaṃ caiva dattvā nāpaharet punaḥ ||*

Manu VIII.212 f.:

*dharmārthaṃ yena dattaṃ syāt kasmaicid yācate dhanam |
paścāc ca na tathā tat syān na deyaṃ tasya tad bhavet ||*

*yadi saṃsādhayet tat tu darpāl lobhena vā punaḥ |
rājñā dāpyaḥ suvarṇaṃ syāt tasya steyasya niṣkṛtiḥ ||*

So far as I can see, there is here a disagreement between Kauṭalya and Manu: The former speaks about gifts given to kings out of pride, *i. e.* to show off, and the latter about the king who will punish him who retains the gift. Manu has then apparently misunderstood his source, and this would be of interest for the question of date.

*Prātibhāvyaṃ daṇḍasulkaśeṣam ākṣikaṃ saurikaṃ kāmādānaṃ
ca nākāmaḥ putro dāyādo vā rikthaharo dadyāt*, a gift for which there is a bail, or where there is an unacquitted rest of a fine or a bride-price, a debt incurred through playing dice or drinking, and a love-gift, a son or an heir who gets the inheritance should not pay against his wish. The reading is certain; cf. Yājñavalkya II.47:

*surākāmadyūtakṛtaṃ daṇḍasulkāvaśiṣṭakam |
vrthādānaṃ tathāiveha putro dadyān na paitṛkam ||*

Manu VIII.159:

*prātibhāvyaṃ vrthādānam ākṣikaṃ saurikaṃ ca yat |
daṇḍasulkāvaśeṣam ca na putro dātum arhati ||*

asvāmivikrayaḥ, sale by a person who is not the owner. *Naṣṭā-paḥṭtam āsāḍya svāmī dharmasthena grāhayet, deśakālātīpattau vā svayaṃ grhītvopaharet, dharmasthaś ca svāninam anuyujjīta kutaś te labdham iti; sa ced ācārakramaṃ darśayeta na vikretāraṃ tasya dravyasyātisargeṇa mucyeta; vikretā ced dr̥ṣyeta mūlyam steyadaṇḍam ca; sa ced apasāraṃ adhigacched apasared āpasārakṣayād iti, kṣaye mūlyam steyadaṇḍam ca dadyāt*, having come across something which has been lost and taken away, the owner should cause it to be seized by the judge, if it is beyond him (the judge) in place and time, he should himself take it and bring it, and the judge should examine the owner: where have you taken it from; if he points out the course of proceeding but not the buyer, he should get free by handing over the object; if the buyer is pointed out, he should (pay) the value and a fine for theft; if he should resort to an egress, he would get off until the resort stops; if it stops he should pay the value and a fine for theft.

Cf. Yājñavalkya II. 168 ff.:

*svaṃ labhetānyavikrītaṃ kretur doṣo 'prakāśite |
hīnād raho hīnamūlye velāhīne ca taskaraḥ ||*

*naṣṭāpaḥṭtam āsāḍya hartāraṃ grāhayen naram |
deśakālātīpattau ca grhītvā svayaṃ arpayet ||*

*vikretur darśanāc chuddhiḥ svāmī dravyam nṛpo damam |
kretā mūlyam avāpnoti tasmād yas tasya vikrayī ||*

*āgamenopabhogena naṣṭaṃ bhāvyaṃ ato 'nyathā |
pañcabandho damas tasya rājñe tenāvibhāvite ||*

*hṛtaṃ pranaṣṭaṃ yo dravyam parahastād avāpnuyāt |
anivedya nṛpe daṇḍyaḥ sa tu śaṇnavatiṃ paṇān ||*

Manu VIII. 197 ff.

*vikrīṇite parasya svamī yo 'svāmī svāmyasaṃmatalaḥ |
na taṃ nayeta sākṣyaṃ tu stenam astenamāninam ||*

*avahāryo bhavec caiva sāvayaḥ śatśataṃ damam |
niranvayo 'napasaraḥ prāptaḥ syāc caurakilbiṣam ||*

*atha mūlam anāhāryam prakāśakrayaśodhitāḥ |
adaṇḍyo mucyate rājñā nāṣṭiko labhate dhanam ||*

Nāṣṭikam ca svakarāyaṁ kṛtvā naṣṭapratyāhṛtaṁ labheta, svakarāṇubhāve pañcabandho daṇḍaḥ, tac ca dravyaṁ rājadharmyaṁ syāt, naṣṭāpṛtaṁ anivedyotkarṣataḥ svāmināḥ pūrvāḥ sāhasadaṇḍaḥ, having made an attested appropriation with regard to the lost object he may take what was lost and brought back; if there is no appropriation, there is a fine of a fifth of the value, and the object is subjected to the king's law; for the owner who takes over what has been lost or carried away without giving information about it, there is the first violence-fine.

Sūlkaśāhne naṣṭāpṛtotpannam (thus Gaṇapati, other editions -*pannas*) *tiṣṭhet, tripakṣād ūrdhvam anabhisāraṁ rājā haret, svāmī vā svakarāyena, pañcapānikam dvipadarūpasya niṣkrayaṁ dadyāt, catuṣpānikam ekakḥurasya, dvipānikam gomahiṣasya, pādikaṁ kṣudrapaśūnām, ratnasārāphalgukūpyānām pañcakaṁ śataṁ dadyāt*, what has been lost or taken away and recovered in the tax-office should remain there, if there is no egress after three fortnights, the king should take it away, or the owner through appropriation; he should give as redemption five *paṇa* for each two-footed, four *paṇas* for each solid-footed creature, two *paṇas* for cows and buffaloes, a quarter-*paṇa* for small cattle, and 5 % for gems, valuable and base metals.

Cf. Yājñavalkya II. 173 f.:

*śaulkikair sthānapālair vā naṣṭāpṛtaṁ āhṛtaṁ |
arvāk saṁvatsarāt svāmī hareta parato nṛpaḥ ||*

*paṇān ekasāpṛte dadyād caturāḥ pañca mānuṣe |
mahiṣoṣṭragavām dvau dvau pādāṁ pādāṁ ajāvike ||*

There is a slight difference in the last stanza, where we have *mahiṣoṣṭragavām* instead of *gomahiṣasya*. The insertion of *uṣṭra*, camel, is suspicious, because *dvau dvau* leads us to think of two and not three species, just as *pādāṁ pādāṁ* has reference to two, goats and sheep. Elsewhere there is a close agreement between Kauṭalya and the two smṛtis, and where we have been able to point to disagreement, Kauṭalya's text seems to be the better one.

The words *apasara* and *apasāra* have been explained in different ways, but the meaning seems to be perfectly clear. *Apasṛ* means to run away, to withdraw from an obligation, and it is used by

Kullūka to gloss *apadhāu*, Manu VIII.54, and *apasāra* is an egress, a means to transfer one's responsibility to another person.

Another interesting term occurring in this passage is *svakarāṇa*, making one's own, which we know from Pāṇini I.iii.56, where it is used about marrying. The form is certainly old, but has been discarded by later authors.

The passages discussed above furnished us with an exceptionally rich material for ascertaining Kauṭalya's relationship with the *smṛtis*, and I have therefore thought it advisable to go into details, but it would lead us too far to proceed in the same way with what follows.

There are remarks about objects brought from another realm or from the forests, carried away by thieves, &c., about the relationship between property and owner, about things others have used to their profit, &c. Cf. Gautama X.46 f.; Viṣṇu III.66 f.; Manu VIII.147, 149; Yājñavalkya II.24.7 134.

III.xvii, *sāhasam*, violence: *anvayavatprasabhakarma*, violent seizing of what is common property; *niranvaye steyam apavyayane ca*, if it is not common property, and if one denies, it is theft; cf. Yājñavalkya II.230 ff., 248, 275 f.; Manu VIII.322 f.; 332, 344.

III.xviii, *vākpāruṣyam*, violence in words: *upavādaḥ, kutsanam abhibhartsanam iti*, censure, abuse, threatening; cf. Yājñavalkya II.204 ff.; Manu VIII.274, &c.

III.xix, *daṇḍapāruṣyam*, stick-violence, actual violence: *sparśanam, avagūrṇaṃ, prahatam iti*, touching, shaking, beating (injuring with hand, foot, weapons, through ashes, &c.); cf. Yājñavalkya II.212 ff. (the commentary quotes Nārada XV.4:

paragātṛeṣv abhidroho hastapādāyudhādibhiḥ |
bhasmādibhiḥ copaghāto daṇḍapāruṣyam ucyate ||),

Manu VIII.278 ff., &c.

III.xx, *dyūtasamāhvayaṃ prakīrṇakāni*, challenging to gamblang, cf. Yājñavalkya II.199 ff., Manu IX.221 ff.; miscellanea (punishment for various kinds of misconduct); cf. Yājñavalkya II.232 ff., 243, 257, 290, 295 ff. The correspondance is only slight.

The remaining chapters of the Kauṭalya are of considerable interest for our understanding of his political theory and practice, but they do not help us with regard to the question about the

author's date. In his important papers in the ZDMG 67, pp. 49 ff., 68, pp. 345 ff. Jolly has given us a comparative study on Kauṭalya's relationship to the Dharmaśāstra. He tried to show that we find the greatest agreement in later smṛtis. But he himself draws attention to the fact that the correspondance is most marked in the case of Yājñavalkya.

IX. KAUTALYA'S VOCABULARY.

Many words mentioned above are rare or ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, or only known from lexicographers. Some of the latter ones can very well have been taken from the Arthaśāstra; we have gradually learnt that Indian lexicographers to a great extent drew on good sources. It would not serve any purpose to discuss all such terms, but it will be desirable to examine some of them, which might be of interest for the questions about date and about Kauṭalya's authorship.

āsuri śṛṣṭi, IX.vii *mūṣikādināṃ prabhūtotpattir iti Mādhabaḥ; kaṭabhaṅga*, gleaning, V.ii (Hem. an., Med.); *cucundarī*, XII.iv, XIV.i, musk-rat = *chuchundarī* (Manu, Yājñ., Mahābh.), Rājānighaṇṭu; *dhruva*, XIV.i, Ficus Indica (Triuk., Hem. an., Med.), &c. It is hardly possible to draw any inference from such examples.

The same is the case with the numerous military terms. There are several kinds of fastnesses, *durga*: *audaka* (water-fastnesses) between two isles (*antardvīpam*), or on shore amidst low places, lakes, &c. (*sthalam nimnāvaruddham*); *pārvata* (mountain-fastnesses) on rocks (*prāstaram*) or in caves (*guhām*); desert-fastnesses (*dhānvanam*) in places without water and grass (*nirudakastambam*) or barren salty ground (*iriṇam*); forest-fastnesses (*vanadurga*), where there is muddy water (*khaṇanodakam*) or thickets of reeds (*stambagahanam*) making it difficult to walk, II. III.

Detailed rules are given about these fastnesses. They should be surrounded with moats (*parikhā*), ditches (*vapra*), ramparts (*prākāra*); there should be watchtowers (*aṭṭālaka*), gangways (*pratoḥ*), platforms (*indrakośa*), secret exits (*devapatha*), places of refuge (*pradhāvitikā*), &c.; outside were *jānubhañjanis*, "knee-breakers"; *triśūlaprakāras*, trident-spokes; *kūṭas*, iron-spokes; *avapātas*, pit-falls, &c.

Durganiveśaḥ II.iv deals with the streets, the places occupied by the king, the harem, &c., and with in-and out-going provisions. The term used is *vīvadha*, which is well known from Vedic sources. Pāṇini IV.iv.17 has *vīvadha*, but Patañjali *vīvadhāc ceti vaktavyam*, and elsewhere, II.i.36, II.iii.12 only *vīvadha*. The Siddhāntakaumudī says *vīvadhavīvadhāśabdāv ubhayato-baddhaśikye skandhavāhye kāṣṭhe vartete*, the words *vīvadha* and *vīvadhā* are used about a stick, with slings attached at both ends, to be carried on the shoulders. A *vaiivadhiki* (IV.iv.17), then, is a person carrying such a shoulder-yoke. And what he carries can be seen from the Mahābhāṣya I.390¹² *udakārtho vīvadhāḥ*, a shoulder-yoke for (fetching) water. The word also occurs in the Mahābhāṣya on II.iii.12 *gatyarthakarmaṇi dvitīyācaturthyau ceṣṭīyām anadhvani*, about the object of (verbs) meaning to go the accusative and the dative are used to denote the motion, but not in the case of a way. Thus we can only say *panthānam gacchati*, *vīvadhāṇi gacchati*. The Kāśikā here replaces *vīvadhāṇi* by *mārgaṇi*, and later lexicographers such as Am., H. an., Med., Vaijayanti give "way" as one of the meanings of *vīvadha*. Amara has *paryāhāraś ca mārgaś ca vīvadhau vīvadhau cetau*, but Maheśvara adds: *bhāre py ete*; H. an. *vīvadhō vīvadhō bhāre paryāhārādhvanor api*, and the Vaijayanti *vīvadhō vīvadhāś ca dvau paryāhāre 'dhvabhārayoḥ* (was the original reading *paryāhārādhvabhārayoḥ*?)

Kaṭyāya gives the following information: *vanājīvaḥ prasāraḥ, svadeśād anvāyatir vīvadhāḥ | mitrabalam āsāraḥ, prasāra =* provisions from forests; *vīvadha =* bringing in from one's own country; *āsāra =* a friend's force; *vīvadhāsāropaghāto rakṣā vā . . . ity aśvakarmāṇi*; destruction or guarding of *vīvadha . . .* are the business of the cavalry; (X.iv); *ekāyane vīvadhāsāraprasārān vā (abhihanyuḥ)*, or (they should destroy) *vīvadha*, the friend's force, and the forest-provisions on an one-man's path (XII.iv); *viśamasthasya muṣṭiṇi sasyaṇi vā hanyād vīvadhāprasārān vā*, for one who is in difficulty he should destroy the seed or the grass, or the *vīvadha* and provisions (XIII.iv).

It is, I think, clear that when *vīvadha* is said to mean *bhāra*, load, a shoulder-yoke load is meant, and *vīvadhāṇi gacchati* means "he goes the shoulder-yoke way", he is employed as a shoulder-yoke carrier, the accusative being adverbial. We here have an example of how lexicographers sometimes misunderstood good sources.

The form *vivadha* for Pāṇini's *vivadha* is of chronological interest, being evidently later than Pāṇini, but established in Patañjali's time. His addition *vivadhāc ceti vaktavyam* is according to Kielhorn not a *vārttika*, but can very well be older than Patañjali.

Many curious terms are used about the various kinds of battle-array. An army is *caturaṅgin*, consisting of four parts, elephants, chariots, cavalry, and infantry, but this term has not been found earlier than in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. In the battle-arrays Kauṭalya, after quoting the opinions of Uśanas and Bṛhaspati, who distinguish between *daṇḍa*, staff; *bhoga*, curve; *maṇḍala*, ring, and *asaṃhata*, not beaten together, open, and after mentioning the wings (*pakṣau*), the flanks (*kakṣau*), and the centre (*urasya*), describes the various kinds (X.vi): *pakṣakakṣorasyaiḥ samam vartamāno daṇḍaḥ*, staff, when going evenly with wings, flanks, and centre (also AK., H., Han., &c.), with 15 varieties such as *kakṣātikrāntaḥ pradaraḥ*, tearing when marching with the wings beyond (the enemy); *sa evapakṣakakṣābhyām pratikrānto dṛḍhakaḥ*, strong when attacking with wings and flanks, &c.

pakṣakakṣorasyair viśamaṃ vartamāno bhogaḥ, curve when going unevenly with wings, flanks, and centre; *sa sarpaśāri gomūtrikā vā*, it is moving like a snake or like cow-urine, &c.

pakṣakakṣorasyānām ekibhāve maṇḍalaḥ, ring when wings, flanks and centre become one; *sa sarvatomukhaḥ, sarvatobhadraḥ, aṣṭāṅko durjaya iti maṇḍalavyūhāḥ*, it is facing all directions, good in all directions, eight-faced, difficult to conquer, thus the ring-arrays.

pakṣakakṣorasyānām asaṃhataḥ asaṃhataḥ, not beaten together when wings, flanks and centre are not beaten together, i. e. open; *sa pañcāṅgānām ākṛtiśthāpanād vajro godhā vā*, it is called thunder-bolt or alligator according to the arrangement of the five faces, &c.

Numerous curious terms are found in this passage. Since Kauṭalya mentions two predecessors, it is possible that most of them are inherited. The same may be the case with the indications about the proper choice of battle-array.

Then we learn to know the titles of the leading officers: *aṅgadaśakasyaikāḥ paṭiḥ padikāḥ | padikadaśakasyaikāḥ senāpatiḥ | taddaśakasyaiko nāyaka iti, padika* (colonel), the only leader of ten *aṅgas* (battalions), *senāpati* army-leader (general) that of ten *padikas*, *nāyaka* (leader,

commander-in-chief) that of ten army-leaders; X.vi. Also these terms are probably inherited, but their exact meaning is, so far as I know, not known from older sources than the Kauṭaliya.

There are rules about the disposition of the four *aṅgas* in the different arrays and each of them have different kinds of employment, *aśvayuddhāni*, *hastiyuddhāni*, *rathayuddhāni*, and *pattiyuddhāni* (X.v). The grooming of elephants and horses is attended to. In the chapter about the *aśvādhyakṣa* (II.xxx) there are notes about the different ways a horse moves: *valgana*, gallop; *nīcāir gata*, ambling; *laṅghana*, prancing; *dhoraṇa*, trotting; *nāroṣṭra*, obeying the rider's pressure, with many variations. The explanation of these terms, which are partly ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, is not found elsewhere. They are, however, of considerable interest because the Indian numerals *aika*, 1, *tēra* 3; *panza* 5, *ṣatta* 7, &c., are used in the Hettite manual of horse-training found by Hrozný¹, so that horse-training must have been well known in their country long before Kauṭaliya.

The case is similar with regard to the many designations of weapons, mentioned in the chapter about the arsenal-overseer, *āyudhāgārādhyakṣaḥ*, II.xviii. I am unable to make any use of them for chronological purposes.

Consideration of the attitude of neighbouring rulers play a great rôle in military tactics, as mentioned VII.xv under *Ṣāḍgunya*. The *pārṣṇigrāha*, "heel-catcher" is the prospective ally of a ruler who wants to triumph (*vijigīṣu*) over his neighbour; the *āsāra*, "succourer", beyond the neighbour, is also to be reckoned as a probable ally. A *madhyama*, "intermediate" keeps the middle between friend and friend's friend on one, and enemy, enemy's friend, and enemy's friend's friend on the other side. Finally we have the *udāsina*, outsider, neutral. Cf. Manu VII.207, where *pārṣṇigrāha* and *ākraṇḍa* occur.

apasāraḥ, II.xiv, III.xvi, egress, way out.

ādhipedanikam, III.ii, what is to be paid to the first wife when marrying a second.

āyaḥ, income, II.vi: *vartamānaḥ* (running), *paryuṣito* (last year's), *anyajātaś* (gone astray) *cāyaḥ*; *vyayapratyayaḥ* (expense-tax), remains of what has been spent on *vikṣepa* (alarm?), diseases,

¹ See e. g. his paper in Archiv Orientalní, Vol. III, p. 290.

and undertakings; *upajā* (increase of the value of articles of trade). *vyāji* (gain realized through difference in measure), or increase when there is a throng of buyers (*kṛayasamīgharṣe vā vṛddhirity āyah*). The *āyaśarīram*, income-"body", is derived from mining (*khani*), banks and dams (*setu*), forests (*vana*) herds (*vraja*), and trade-routes (*vayikpatha*); the *āyamukham*, income-"head", comprises price (*mālam*), (the king's) share (*bhāgaḥ*, $\frac{1}{10}$), *vyāji* (tax on increase in value, $\frac{1}{20}$), *parighaḥ* (gate-money), *klptam* (fixed dues from villages, &c.), *rūpikam* (8 % for controlling), *atyayaś* (fines) *cāyamukham*.

kāmajaś caturvargaḥ, the four-group arising from love, explained in VIII.iii, *puruṣavyasanavargaḥ*, the group of man's vices: *mṛgayā* (hunting), *dyūtam* (gambling), *striyaḥ* (women), and *pānam* (drink). *kopajas trivargaḥ*, the three-group arising from anger VIII.iii: *vāk-pāruṣyam* (harshness of speech, insulting language), *arthadūṣaṇam* (spoiling of property) is defined as *adānam* (not-giving), *ādānam* (taking away), *vināśaḥ* (destruction), and *parityāgaḥ* (leaving, neglecting, of property), *daṇḍapāruṣyam* (harshness in punishments).

khaniḥ, mines, II.vi, of *suvarṇa* (gold), *rajata* (silver), *vajra* (diamonds), *maṇi* (jewels), *muktā* (pearls), *pravāla* (coral), *śaṅkha* (shells), *loha* (iron), *lavaṇa* (salt), *bhūmi-rasa-prastara-dhātavaḥ* (ores in earth, stones, and water).

gopaḥ, II.xxi, superintendent of a group of villages (A.K., H., Han., Med.).

dātraraśmigrāhakaḥ II.xxviii, seizer of the mooring-rope (*dātra* elsewhere = sieve).

devapathaḥ II.iii, god's path, secret passage.

devasaras II.xxviii, pool of the gods, a permanent pool.

niṣkuhadvāram II.iii, tree-hollow door, for emergency or observation.

paśṭhauhi, see above p. 22.

puruṣavyasana, see *kāmajaś caturvargaḥ*.

bhinnakūṭa, VIII.v, "split-head", a country that has lost its leader.

yogavṛttam, V.i, tricky behaviour, various deceitful ways of corrupting possible enemies, frustrating their endeavours, and getting rid of them.

raśmiḥ, XIII.iv, provisions, food; cf. V.S. XV.16, Śat. Br. VIII.5.33.

rāṣṭram, II.xv, realm, the receipts of the state: *piṇḍakaraḥ* (village tax), *ṣaḍbhāgaḥ* (the 6th part of grain, &c.), *senābhaktaṃ* (food for the army), *baḷiḥ* (an additional tax exacted), *karaḥ* (tax, on fruits, trees, &c.), *utsaṅgaḥ* (haunch-tax, to be paid after the birth of a son, &c.), *pārśvaṃ* ("side", additional tax exacted by officials), *pārihīṇikam* (fines when one's cattle has done damage), *aupāyanikaṃ* (what is given as a present), *kauṣṭheyakam* (taxes to be paid when using the king's tanks, parks, &c.?) *ca rāṣṭraṃ*.

vanam II.vi: a *paśu*-(cattle-) *mṛga*-(deer-) *dravya*-(wood-) *hastī*-(elephant-) *vanaparigraha* (forest-enclosure) *vanam* (is called forest).

vāsitaḥ, II.xiv, gilding.

viṣṭiḥ, II.xv (forced labour): *mārjaka*-(sweeper), *ārakṣaka*-(watchmen) *dhāraka*-(weight-inspector) *māyaka*-(measurer) *māpaka*-(measure-surveyor) *dāyaka*-(payer) *dāpaka*-(payment-surveyor) *śālākāprati-grāhaka*-(receiver of sticks &c.) *dāsakarmavargaś* (the host of slave-workers) *ca viṣṭiḥ*.

viśaras, II.xxviii, a pool that can dry up.

vetanopagrāhikam, II.xxix, serving (as herdsmen) for fixed wages (and not payment in milk or butler).

vyaya, expenses (of the state), II.vi: *devapitypñjādanārthaṃ* (for the sake of worship of gods and ancestors and of alms), *svastivācanam* (complimentary offerings to the priest), *antaḥpuraṃ* (the harem), *mahānaṣaṃ* (the kitchen), *dūtaprāvartimaṃ* (sending of messengers), *koṣṭhāgāraṃ* (the treasury), *āyudhāgāraṃ* (the arsenal), *paṇyagrhaṃ* (the ware-house), *kupyagrhaṃ* (building for forest-produce, cf. II.xvii), *karmānta* (works), *viṣṭiḥ* (forced labour), *patyaśvarathadvipaparigraha* (maintenance of infantry, cavalry, chariots, and elephants), *gomaṇḍalaṃ* (cow-herd), *paśumṛgapakṣi-vyālavāṭāḥ* (enclosures for cattle, deer, birds, and wild animals), *kāṣṭhatrṇavāṭāś* (enclosures for wood and grass) *ceṭi vyayaśarīram* (are the expense-body);

vyayapratyāyaḥ (return of outlay), II.vi ff. xv: *vikṣepavyādhitāntarārambhaśeṣaṃ ca* (rest of expenditure on alarms, medical treatment, and undertakings) *vyayapratyāyaḥ* (constitutes the outlay-return).

vyājī (trade-tax), II.xii: *pañcakaṃ śātam* (5%), II.xvi: *ṣoḍaśabhāgo mānavyājī* ($\frac{1}{16}$ the tax on measurement).

vrajaḥ (herd) II.vi: *gomahiṣam* (cows and buffaloes), *ajāvikaṇi* (goats and sheep, *kharoṣṭram* (asses and camels), *aśvāśvatarāś ca* (and horses and mules) *vrajaḥ*.

sītā (furrow), II.xv: *sītādhyakṣoṇātāḥ sasyavarṇakāḥ sītā* (*sītā* is the grass-species brought in by the furrow-overseer).

setuḥ (dam, dyke), II.vi *puṣpaphalavāṭaṣaṇḍakēdāramūlavāpāḥ setuḥ* (*setu* for sowing flowers, and fruit in enclosures, thickets, irrigated fields, and over roots).

Ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.

atyarālaḥ, II.xxxi: *aṣṭāratnir (hasṭi) atyarālaḥ*, an a., an (elephant) of 8 *aratni*.

aditiḥ, XI.i, a woman living by showing pictures of gods (Gaṇapati: *nānādevālekhyapradarśanavṛttayaḥ striyaḥ*).

anulāsaḥ, II.iv, acc. to Gaṇapati = *avakāśa*, space, opening.

anvādhiḥ, repentance, III.iii, acc. to Gaṇapati of having entrusted others with loans.

abhyābhū III.xii, to compensate, make good (?).

aralā III.xx, acc. to Gaṇapati a flat piece of leather for playing dice on.

ardhaphaṇika III.x, amounting to half a *paṇa*. Gaṇapati reads *ardhaphaṇika*, cf. Manu VIII. 404.

avaneyiman, II.xiii, taking away valuable jewels and substituting valueless ones (Gaṇ.; he reads *apaneyiman*).

avamarśabhitti III.viii, structure above a verandah to protect against rain.

avastāra II.viii: *siddham kalam aprāptam karoty aprāptam prāptam vety avastāraḥ*, a. is when one enters what has been received and realized as not received, and what has not been received as received.

aṣṭaka. II.xiv, lac, solder.

āṇi II.iii, acc. to Gaṇapati a small door.

ātivāhika II.vvi, XIII.iii, transport guard.

ābaliyaśam XVI.i, the weaker's attitude towards the stronger.

āvesani H.xiv, a craftsman.

āveṣṭana III.xix, twisting.

uttaravarṇaka II.xiv: *tāmratārarūpaṇi cottaravarṇakaḥ*, and a piece of copper and silver with a double layer of gold is called "best coloured".

utsaṅga II.xv, acc. to Gaṇapati gifts to the king on the birth of a son, &c.

udaṅjara III.viii, acc. to Gaṇapati a great jar, for water as a safeguard against fire.

upacihnikā, XIII.ii a kind of ant, Rv. VIII.102. 21.

upavāsa, III.x a cultivator in the service of the village.

upasāla, III.x, a tract of common land round a village or town; cf. *parihāra*, Manu VIII.237.

upasthānam II.xv: *tulāmānāntaraṇi* (different measure and weight, *sc.* in buying and selling). *hastapūrayam* (filling the hand) *utkaro* (rubbish added) *vyājī* (raised measure-tax) *paryuṣitaṇi* (of last year) *prārjitaṇi* (exacted) *copasthānam*.

audanika II.xxxvi, a seller of boiled rice, cf. Pāṇ. IV.iv. 17.

aupaniṣadikaṃ XIV the use of poisonous herbs, &c., against others.

aupaśāyika III.xv consisting in having been slept with.

aupāyanikaṃ II.xv, what is given as a present, see *rāṣṭram*, above p. 57.

kaṅkaṭakarmānta II.xxii, acc. to Gaṇapati = *sūtrasaṃnāhakarma*.

kacagrahaṇī II.xxxvi, "hair-seizer", implement for removing thatching in order to prevent fire.

kaṭumāna II.xiii: *arpayet kacakarmaṇaḥ pañcabhāgaṇi kāñcanaṇi daśabhāgaṇi kaṭumānam*, for the setting of glass one should hand over 5 parts of gold, and 10 parts as "pungent" measure, *i. e.* as a covering over the setting in order to make it stronger. (The reading taken from the Vyākhyā).

kapālasaṃśraya VII.ii, "skull-joining", treaty on equal terms.

karapratikara II.xxix, tax-requit: *ghṛtasyāṣṭau vārakān* (8 *vāraka* clarified butter) *pañikaṇi puccham* (1 *paṇa* each tail) *aṅkacarma* (stamped hide) *ca vārśikaṇi dadyād* (he should give each year) *iti karapratikaraḥ* (this is the tax-requit).

karmābhigraha IV.vi, taking hold of the deed, disclosing a theft and its kind.

kakāṇika II.xiii, weighing a *kakāṇi*; cf. *kākiṇīkaḥ* Mahābhāṣya V.i. 33.

kāca II.xiv, acc. to Gaṇapati and Jolly, fraud.

kiṇvābandha II.xxv: *māśakalanīdroṇaṃ āmaṇi siddhaṇi vā* (a droṇa bean-paste (?), raw or cooked) *tribhāgādhikatanḍulaṇi* (with three parts more of rice) *moraṭūdināṇi kārṣikabhāgayuktaṇi* (together with a *kārṣa* portion of *moraṭa*, &c.) *kiṇvābandhaḥ* (is the way of using ferments).

kūpya II.xvii. *kūpyādhyakṣaḥ*, the *kūpya*-overseer. *Sāka*-(teak) *tinīśa*- (Dalbergia Ujjeinensis) *dhanvana*- (Alhagi Maurorum) *arjuna*- (Terminalia Arjuna) *madhūka*- (Bassia Latifolia) *tilaka*- (Clorodendrum phlomoides) *sāla*- (Vatica robusta) *śiṃśupā*- (Dalbergia Sissoo) *arimeda*- (Vachellia Farnesiana) *rājādāna*- (Buchanania Latifolia) *śirīṣa*- (Acacia Sirissa) *khadira*- (Acacia Catechu) *sarala*- (Pinus Longifolia) *tāla*- (fan-palm) *sarja*- (Terminalia Tomentosa) *aśva-karṇa*- (Vatica Robusta) *somavalka*- (Acacia Arabica) *kaśa*- (a kind of Acacia?) *āmra*- (mango) *priyaka*- (Nauclea Cadamba) *dhavādiḥ* (Grislea Tomentosa, &c.) *kūpyavargaḥ* (is the *kūpya*-group).

kumārī II.xxxi, acc. to Gaṇapati a beam above the post to which an elephant is tied to make the binding stronger.

kṛtyākṛtyapakṣaraksaya I.xiii, watching over the parties that can, or cannot, be managed, *i. e.* scheming at bringing them to desert an enemy.

kośasaṅga VIII.iv: *sakto mukhyeṣu* (sticking to the chiefs) *parihāropaḥataḥ* (damaged through exemption) *prakīṛyo* (scattered) *mithyāsaṃbhṛtaḥ* (wrongly* collected) *sāmāntāṭavibhṛta* (taken away by neighbours or foresters) *iti kośasaṅgāḥ* (such the stickings for the treasury).

kṛayima II.xv: *dhānyamūlyaṇi* (the corn-price) *kośanirhāraḥ* (treasure-hoarding) *prayogapratyādānaṇi ca* (returning of what has been utilized) *kṛayimam* (are the purchase-group).

kṣepaṇa II.xiii: *kṣepaṇaḥ kācārpaṇādīni* (*kṣepaṇa* = setting glass, &c., *sc.* in gold).

khaṇḍaphulla III.viii, acc. to Gaṇapati *sphuṭitasamskāra*, repairing of breakages.

khārvaṭika II.i centre of 200 villages; cf. above p. 38.

gaṇḍikā, II.xiii, xiv: anvil (? Jolly).

gopa II.xxxv, head of five or ten villages.

goliṅga II.xxviii, a cow-cart.

chandikā XI.i predilection.

jaṅghāgra II.xxxv, shank-multitude, the number of legs of individuals.

iharaka IV.i, water-carrier.

tādātīvika II.ix: *yo yad yad utpadyate tat tat bhakṣayati*, one who devours all he can get hold of.

tikṣṇa I.xii *ye janapade śūrās tyaktātmāno hastinaṃ vyālaṃ vā dravyahetoḥ pratiyodhayeyus te tikṣṇāḥ*, those who as heroes, risking their life, fight against an elephant or a tiger before people for money's sake are the sharpeners.

tripuṭaka II.xiv: two portions silver, one sulphur. When this is used to remove gold coming from the pit, that is called *tripuṭakā-pasārīta*, removal through three-folding.

nāroṣṭra, see above p. 55.

nāṣṭika III.xvi, concerning what is *nāṣṭa*, lost.

nindu III.ii, a woman bearing a dead child, H. 531.

nispāka, III.xiv, ripening, completion.

naiveśanika III.v, what is required for setting up a separate household: *saṃniviṣṭasamam asaṃniviṣṭebhyo naiveśanikaṃ dadyuḥ*, they should give those who have not settled down (*i. e.* married) an equal settling-sum as the settled ones.

naiṣecanika XI.i, XII.iv: *naiṣecanikam iti madanarasayuktān madya-kumbhān śataśaḥ prayaccheyuḥ*, they should present hundreds of liquor-pitchers with intoxicating poison as a "libation".

pañcakauṣṭha XIV.i, the five parts of *kuṣṭha* (*Costus speciosus*) *viz.* rind, leaves, flowers, fruits, roots.

parikuṭṭana II.xiv: *peṭakāpadeśena pṛṣitaṃ guṇaṃ piṭakāṃ vā yat pariśātayanti tat parikuṭṭanam*, cutting-away is when they cut off a *pṛṣita*, a thread, or a pitcher under the pretence of *peṭaka*.

paribhāṇḍa, II.xiii: *pṛṣitakācakarmaṇaḥ, trayo hi bhāgāḥ paribhāṇḍam dvau vāstukaṃ, catvāro vā vāstukaṃ trayāḥ paribhāṇḍam*, of a *pṛṣita*-glass-work. In *pṛṣita*-glass-work are three parts the frame, two the base, or four the base three the frame.

parivartana II.viii *rājadravyāṇāṃ anyadravyeṇādānam*, seizing the king's property by (substituting) other property; cf. II.xv *sasyavarjānām arghāntareṇa viṇimayaḥ parivartakaḥ*, *parivartaka* = exchanging grasses with such of different value.

pariśūna II.xxvi, slaughtered outside the slaughterhouse.

parisṛpta VIII.v: *parisṛptam apasṛtam*, *p.* = gone away.

parihāpaṇa II.viii: *klptam āyaṃ parihāpayati vyayaṃ vā vardhayatīti parihāpayam*, he makes the settled income too low or increases the expenses, this is *parihāpaya*.

parokta III.i outruled.

pāṇisudhāvaka IV.i sweeper.

pāraśama II.xxx, a mule; cf. *pāraśava*, a man of mixed caste, son of a brāhmaṇa and a śūdrā, III.vii.

pārihīṇika II.xv, fines for damage done by cattle.

pārīkṣika II.xii: *pārīkṣikam aṣṭabhāgikaṃ śatam* the inspection duty 8 %.

pārśva II.vi, xv, additional tax exacted.

pālī II.xxiv, dyke, dam; cf. *Rājatar*. V. 106.

pālīkya II.xxiv, a kind a pumpkin (thus Gaṇapati, who reads *vāllīkya*).

piṅka II.xiv, fraudulent substitution of less valuable matter, e.g. glass for jewels, silver for gold, &c.

piṅcha II.xiv, feather used by goldsmith for blowing up fire.

pratikīṭṭa II.xiv, rust.

prṣṭa II.xiii, xiv, "sprinkled", mounted, set; *prṣṭakācākarma*, setting glass or pearls, &c., in gold (Jolly: hollow).

peṭaka II.xiv, one of the goldsmith's ways of deceiving. It is *gāḍha*, firm, or *abhyuddhārya*, removable. A *gāḍhapeṭaka* is a piece of lead "smeared" with a gold-leaf and fastened inside with lac (*sīsarūpaṃ suvarṇapatreṇāvaliptam abhyantaramaṣṭakena baddham*). When there is only folded layers, it is removable (*sa eva paṭalasaṃpuṭeṣu abhyuddhāryaḥ*).

pratikroṣṭr, III.ix an overbidder.

pratigraha X.vi, the rear of a battle-array.

pratimaṇca II.iii a platform (*maṇca*) facing another.

pratolī II.iii: *dvayor aṭṭalakayor madhye saharṇyadvitalāṃ dvyardhāyāmāṃ pratolīṃ kārayet | aṭṭalakapratolīmadhye tridhānuṣkūdhīṣṭhānaṃ sāpidhānacchidraphalakasaṃhatam itūdrakoṣaṃ kārayet*, between two watchtowers he should let make a *pratolī* with two mansion-surfaces (covering the roofs of the two towers?), 1½ time more broad (than high); between tower and *pratolī* he should let make a platform, as place for three archers, beaten together of planks with holes that can be covered: an *indrakoṣa* (platform). *Pratolī* usually means head-street, but in medical

- * texts a bandage; here apparently a structure above the watch-towers.

pradhāvīlikā II.iii, place of refuge.

prasannāyoga II.xxv: *dvādaśādhakam piṣṭasya pañca prasthāḥ kṛtvāsya putrakatvakphalayukto vā jātisaṃbhāraḥ prasannāyogaḥ*, 12 ādhaka flour, 5 *prastha* ferment, or a collection of species combined with the rind and fruit of the *putrakatree* is *prasannāyoga*.

prasāra X.ii: *vanājīvaḥ prasāraḥ*, forest nourishment (rice, grasses, &c.) is *prasāra*.

prahavaṇa II.xxv, III.x, VII.xvi, XII.v, XIII.ii, festival gathering.

prāṭivedhanika II.xix controlling.

prāmityaka II.xv: *sasyayācanam anyataḥ prāmityakam*, asking for grasses from others is *prāmityaka*; *tad eva pratidānārtham āpamityakam*, when it is to be restored is *āpamityaka*.

prāvartima II.xxiv, activity, instrumentality.

phenāghāta II.xxiv, foam-striking, place reached by foam, near water.

phelā VII.xvii, box, cf. *Divyāv.* 503. 24.

bhagnotsrṣṭaka II.xxix: *vyādhitānyaṅgānanyadohīdurdohāputraghnīnāṇi ca samavibhāgaṇi rūpaśataṇi pālayantas tajjāṭikam bhāgaṇi dadyur iti bhagnotsrṣṭakam*, those who tend hundred (cows), that are sick, crippled, not to be milked by others, difficult to milk, slipping the calf, equally distributed, should pay the corresponding due (*viz.* $\frac{1}{10}$): that is *bhagnotsrṣṭaka*.

bhaṇḍikādhikaraṇi II.xiv, support of implements.

bhāgānupraviṣṭaka II.xxix: *paracakrāṭavibhayād anupraviṣṭānāṇi paśūnāṇi pālanadharmeṇa daśabhāgaṇi dadyur iti bhāgānupraviṣṭakam*, for the keeping of cattle brought in from fear of other rulers or of foresters they should pay $\frac{1}{10}$: that is *bhāgānupraviṣṭaka*.

bhreṣa III.xii loss (of entrusted property which one has been unable to prevent); cf. *Yājñ.* II. 66.

mānasrāva II.xix: *pañcāśadbhāgo mānasrāvo dravāṇāṇi*, $\frac{1}{50}$ is the measure tax for fluids.

muṇḍaharmya, *muṇḍakadvāra* II.iii, perhaps a structure, a door made of lopped trunks.

musṣṇi a kind of weapon used in defence of fortresses; II.iii; cf. *bhuṣuṇḍi*?

mūlahara II.ix: *yaḥ pīṭṭpātāmaham artham anyāyena bhakṣayati*, one

- who improperly consumes the wealth inherited from father and grandfather.
- yonipoṣaka* II.ii, iii, breeder of animals, such as chicken, pigs, sheep and goats, cows and buffaloes, horses and mules.
- vānalaṭī* III.viii, acc. to Gaṇapati a verandah.
- viṣaṇṇālikam* II.xxxvi, the first and last *nālikas* of the night, when the nightwatch drum was struck.
- vellaka* II.xiv, an alloy, half iron half silver.
- vaidharaya* II.xii, xvi, xxv, making good losses on government wares.
- vyantara* III.iv, remote.
- vyāṭī* II.vi, xii tax on measuring, paid with 5 %.
- śama* X.v = 14 *āṅgula*.
- śūrpa* II.xxxvi, a wicker basket, used as a fan for keeping off smoke.
- sattra* VII.v, X.iii: *dhānvanasaṅkaṭapaṅkaśailanimnaviṣamanāvo gāvah śakaṭavyūho nīkāro rātrir iti sattrāṇi*, a desert, narrow, muddy, stony, low, uneven (places), ships, cows, a chariot-array, fog, night are the *sattras*. *Sattra*, "session", means a great soma-sacrifice, and hence a difficult work. About the *sattriṇaḥ*, see above p. 27.
- sāmedhika* XIII.ii, a fortune-teller.
- siṃhanikā* II.xv: *kutṭakarocakasaktuśuktapiṣṭakarma tajjīvanēsu taila-piḍanam aurabhṛacākrīkeṣu iṅṣṭānāṇi ca kṣāra karma siṃhanikā*, *siṃhanikā* is what comes in from work on crushing, adding stimulants, pounding, adding acids, grinding, among those who have this living, oil-pressing, with sheep- and goat-butchers, and producing treacle, &c., from sugar-canes.
- sūtikākūpa* III.viii, well (for cleaning) a lying-in woman.
- svakaraṇa* III.xvi, making one's own, testification of ownership; as to the form cf. Pāṇini I.iii. 56.

Many of the words mentioned above have already been dealt with by Jolly in his paper *Lexikalisches aus dem Arthaśāstra*, *Indo-germanische Forschungen*, XXXI, pp. 204—10, which I only know from his important paper *Arthaśāstra und Dharmaśāstra*, *ZDMG* 67, pp. 49 ff. His results are mainly the same as in the *Kollektaneen*: The *Kaṭṭaliya* in numerous details agrees with the *smṛtis*, and especially with comparatively late works such as *Yājñavalkya* and *Nārada*. It cannot, therefore, well be so old as the 4th century

B. C. But he himself draws attention to several details which show how careful we must be in drawing any such conclusions.

The Dharmaśāstra has had a long development, and many of the smṛtis are admittedly comparatively late works, but still it is possible to speak of an old kernel, which goes back to a considerably earlier period than the 4th century B. C. ✓ The later changes and neologisms can have been taken over from the Arthaśāstra, which can also, as already remarked, be the source from which lexicographers have taken some of the words we know from them and from Kauṭalya. And the cases of divergence can be due to the different view-points in the Arthaśāstra and the Dharmaśāstra. It seems to me that no conclusive evidence has been brought forwards against Jacobi's view that our Kauṭaliya is, essentially, genuine and that its author was the minister of the Maurya emperor Candragupta.

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